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Soviet Union

Political Affairs

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Shatalin on Political, Economic Changes

904A0039A Moscow *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA*
in Russian No 41, 11 Oct 89 p 10

[Academician S. Shatalin interviewed by correspondent V. Sokolov: "Costs Are Inevitable, But..."]

[Text] Academician Shatalin was asked in an interview what he considered himself—a liberal or conservative. And Stanislav Sergeyevich, who is known throughout the world as a ruffler of the feathers of Soviet economic life of long standing and a stern critic of the official authorities and consistent student of L.V. Kantorovich and the American W.W. Leontieff—the indomitable Stanislav Sergeyevich answered thus: "Read Berdyayev; he maintained that liberalism is not the best current in man's history. And Britain's progress is linked with the conservative Thatcher, for example. A wise man said: If you did not burn with passion in your youth, I am sorry for you, but if in your old age you are not a conservative, you are simply a fool, and I am no longer sorry for you. I have lived to a fair age and have become somewhat of a conservative, but have never been a liberal...." Today our correspondent V. Sokolov talks with the "conservative" Shatalin.

[Correspondent] If we say we are on the verge of collapse, it is not so much economic catastrophe which awaits us as spiritual. What good is meat or soap when people are inveighing against each other everywhere and when a wave of the most barbarous and brutal criminality is growing, and the legal-protection mechanisms are literally cracking up from internal strains. Have we become lost, perhaps? Perhaps what we need is not so much a new program as a new philosophy of action?

[Shatalin] I have no doubt that this is the case. True, it is suggested that we discuss this philosophy while remaining within the framework of socialism. But do we know precisely what socialism is? My young associates, who like to compute all there is, have counted a multitude of models of socialism which have existed throughout the history of human civilization. What kind of society has this been? I do not know. I know that there is our economy and there is the West's economy and can say precisely how they differ. But what socialism is may only be established axiomatically. If we follow Marxist thought, and not the system of dogmatic assertions which is called "Marxism," it has to be acknowledged, finally, that private property has to be an organic part of socialism. And it is time we had done with brandishing the wage labor bugaboo unless we want the "free" worker to continue to live much worse than the "hired" worker.

If we tell ourselves in advance: Socialism is what exists in the USSR, and then begin within this framework to conduct the debate, such a Faustian winking is inevitable: We know everything, but write and speak "within limits." Whence the impossibility of a clear prescription for our economy. All that is happening in our country now could still be turned off, and this is what is most disturbing.

[Correspondent] But we have experienced extraordinary events and upheavals even this year and have been so passionate in our discussion of the elections of people's deputies and their first congress, the bloody conflicts and thousands-strong strikes.... Surely this has changed us?

[Shatalin] There have been changes; it could not have been otherwise. We have finally understood that we do not have a monopoly of interpretation of socialism, whence ensue many things. But this is not enough to ensure that society move a step higher. An example is the work of the congress, toward which I willy-nilly have a dual attitude.

I shall begin with the negative aspects. The Supreme Soviet was elected perfunctorily to a certain extent. Those who voted were frequently ignorant of the political, intellectual, and spiritual level of those for (or against) whom they happened to vote. For this reason we are now seeing that the Supreme Soviet will have to raise its professionalism considerably.

The second thing, which I have greatly disliked, is the evident contradiction between our party's present line and the still hardy tradition of alternativeness. Starting with those same elections of Supreme Soviet chairman. Obolenskiy's claims might to some people have seemed a farce, perhaps, but I see behind it a highly wretched problem of ours. I understood that no one would have elected Obolenskiy president, but hoped that the deputies would have had enough of a sense of elementary benevolence, old-fashioned breeding and decency, if you like, to have included him on the list for a secret ballot. I believe that this would have predetermined the spiritual level of the congress' work to a large extent.

I was also incensed by the fact that the congress responded with applause to General Rodionov's speech. And an even more distressing impression was made by the "tally-ho-ing" against Academician Sakharov when the Afghan problem came up. Speaking thus about a most meritorious man, most important scientist and real citizen, who gives absolutely no thought to his own fate—this is dreadful. It was at these moments that I keenly regretted having withdrawn my candidacy at the elections for deputy.

What has further distressed me? The extremely low economic and legal training of our deputies. Many of their proposals are so incompetent that one can only marvel and wonder how this body will operate in the future

[Correspondent] Getting to the heart of the matter without scientific training cannot be done, but perhaps it is possible, guided by commonsense, to choose the best of the solutions offered by advisers?

[Shatalin] An illusion! In practice such a person very soon becomes the puppet of the group of advisers which more quickly wins his trust or liking simply.

It is to my great regret that the Moscow group of deputies has given a very inadequate account of itself. There are many of my friends in it, but it astonished me that they lacked the tactical ability to have themselves heard at the congress—at precisely the moment, what is more, when this was most required of them. May they not be offended with me, but I cannot fail to express this viewpoint for they have failed to justify my hopes to a very great extent.

Now about the positive aspects. The main thing is that the congress showed that quite a sizable number of very strong people who know how to stand their ground and fight, who sincerely take a cause to heart, and who are potentially important and real politicians has grown up in our society. This was for me one of the best impressions of the congress.

[Correspondent] And this generation of new politicians will increase with each successive congress. The electorate will look at Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev, say, and recognize the kind of deputy candidate of their own whom they need at the next elections.

[Shatalin] The number of such deputies will inevitably grow, and this instills in me personally confidence that our country's future is potentially in sure hands.

The next plus was that I saw with my own eyes that a multiparty system has matured in our society. Without inventing names for the likely parties as of today, I shall call them by their nuances, of which I count, perhaps, five. These are left, center-left, center, center-right and right. Of course, these parties have inevitably to express the interests of different social groups, but they will just as inevitably link people by their education, probity, devotion to the country and the cause....

[Correspondent] Excuse me, but the members of any party will consider precisely themselves the most upright, correctly educated, and most devoted to their country. And what will happen under our current conditions of struggle against our own past for everything—from power to a bar of household soap, from clean water to economic independence—if those doing the fighting begin also to correct one another's educational and ideological distortions?

[Shatalin] I would put it thus: I am in principle for a multiparty system, as long as we do not intend remaining for long in the position of mass-meeting pluralism, but start to create real political institutions.

I am a communist of 30 years' standing, but I believe that a multiparty system could emerge in our country on the initiative of the CPSU itself.

[Correspondent] We are experiencing an explosive growth of national self-awareness and, strictly speaking, centrifugal forces. Do you not fear that the good of a multiparty system will be used primarily and most vigorously for the consolidation of nationalist, separatist, and populist forces?

[Shatalin] Of course, nationalist movements exist—both in our country and all over the world—but the question concerning them is akin to the task of squaring the circle. One could imagine Texas conceiving the intention of quitting the United States for some reason or other, but one could not suppose that it would do so to align itself with Mexico. On the contrary, any Mexican state would like to become a part of the United States—but the obstacles here are of approximately the same order as those in respect of which we would hardly agree to admit to the union republics Afghanistan, say. In short, nationalist, separatist movements never arise where the economic soil for this is lacking.

[Correspondent] Even shorter, let well enough alone?

[Shatalin] Possibly. We are a country which eats poorly and in which there is a shortage of literally everything, and this, and not the intrigues of nationalists, is the whole problem. That of which our peoples are deprived finds its substitution—in cultural, noncultural, political, and barbarous forms—and this is another question. We simply cannot, after all, take the path of French, Swiss, or some further enlightened parliamentarianism, but move toward parliamentarianism we must, and we will pay our own particular price for this. We cannot, alas, become a decent country without costs, we need to understand this and shed all illusions. That our common task is to minimize the bitter costs of the transition period is another matter....

[Correspondent] And get by without blood.

[Shatalin] Undoubtedly. I believe that a wise policy considering the interests of all parties, treating national problems with delicacy, geared to the social consolidation of society and attentive to the peoples' moral and ethical and religious values—such a policy would reduce these costs considerably.

[Correspondent] What might help today unite our people torn apart into nations (and even within the nations also!) by insults, conflicts, and ill-provisioned conditions? The market?

[Shatalin] The market, yes. But this will still not make us the USSR people once again. Common goals are needed—this is the second unifying factor. But take our present plan—what is it? A set of figures not oriented toward man in the least. Why do I need to know how much pig iron will be smelted and milk produced next year? I want to know what the family of Academician Shatalin, the journalist Sokolov, the worker Peters, and the cotton grower Makhmudov will have in this 5-year plan. Will we be worse off? Tell us honestly; we will prepare ourselves and work a little harder. Better? In what way? The plan should be oriented toward man, otherwise it becomes pointless. We can be united only by common goals and large programs, whose results will be perceived by each individual. We need not only a macropplan—for the union or the republics—we need a plan for social groups, a plan for nations, cities, rayons, even streets, if you will.

The third unifying factor is the cultural collection of our nations originating with Orthodoxy, Islam, Catholicism, Judaism, Lamaism, and all the other religions practiced by our peoples. Unification of the churches—this also would help the country's unification for the sake of common goals.

[Correspondent] Stanislav Sergeyevich, can we today in the infinitely complicated situation tell ourselves: Dogmatic assertions have brought us to an impasse, we will throw them out and become pragmatists?

[Shatalin] Not can, must. Thrice must! Enough of myths, enough of paganism, only blood and loss come from them, nothing more. We need to learn how to manage rationally. And what "ism" we subsequently attach to the rational economic system, we will see.

What do we need for internal unity—to move toward real unity in the world? Mikhail Sergeyevich has formulated brilliantly, I believe, the question of the system of values common to all mankind and their priorities. Of course, the process will be difficult both for the West and for us, but it is a splendid idea.

What further do we need to do—to switch from the principle of "I forbid" to that of "I substitute," on which all civilization was built. As soon as "I forbid" was heard, everything caved in everywhere—beginning with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise.

The people can no longer be fooled. We need to return to values which evolved naturally and which link us with the rest of humanity. To live according to one's conscience, love one another, be kind, help the disadvantaged—people of various nations and religious beliefs have lived for ages by these commandments. What is the point of inventing new ones and, what is more, implanting them by force? Is man's moral experience contrary to socialist values?

[Correspondent] How do you evaluate the present state of the country?

[Shatalin] As "cannot get worse." This is an optimistic assessment because any movement from a position of "rock bottom" is salutary and strengthens us. Marx said approximately in "Critique of the Gotha Program" that any slight, but real movement is dearer than a dozen programs. We need to really move in the direction of more and more democracy, if only by tiny steps. This does not mean, of course, that we have to pronounce anathema on radicals and pin our hopes on quiet evolution; no, we need to accelerate this process by every means. But we must not panic and dart about in various directions.

[Correspondent] What for you, an economist, would be a guarantee of the success of perestroyka?

[Shatalin] Do not imagine it to be pluralism of ownership, although I consider this question fundamental. But real political pluralism, when there is an opposition and one feels that one will always be protected, even if one

finds oneself in a very considerable minority. Without this there will be no democracy, and no compromise is possible here.

[Correspondent] Then another "economic" question—what impression was made on you by the government program pertaining to a way out of the crisis proposed at the last session?

[Shatalin] There is no doubting the positive side of the proposed direction. After all, not only the government, but also the country's top scholars worked on the program, and the deputies' proposals made an incontestable contribution. The question is "merely" whether these measures are really practicable. For example, a literally ferocious rate of growth of current consumption and nonindustrial construction is envisaged, and retail commodity turnover is to leap by R40 billion. But how will inflation jump here, and will it not once again reduce the anticipated increases to nothing?

It has to be considered that our lousy finances and the catastrophe of the market are the tip of the iceberg. A considerably larger part is the fact that we are making extremely inadequate use of all material, natural, and labor resources. For this reason the problem of financing the recovery and balancing the market is by no means just economics, not just the monetary system, it is (to speak of long-term and relatively dependable strategy) a problem of the creation of a motivational mechanism which constantly and vigorously pushes us toward the increased efficiency of the use of our resources. It seems to me that this problem is simply not understood with us.

[Correspondent] As far as I know, there was virtually no mention at the congress of the motivational mechanism.

[Shatalin] Just so, unfortunately. But let us not fool ourselves! If our motivational mechanism is weaker than in the West, we will, consequently, lose out to capitalism.

The concept of motivations is very, very complex and amounts to more than just economics. It includes moral-ethical, social, and even ethnic factors—the whole gamut. Unfortunately, we have oversimplified this concept dreadfully and reduced it virtually to the ruble. Rubles were provided, work was obtained, and that was it. It was on this that the program was constructed also.

[Correspondent] So is it practicable or not?

[Shatalin] Only given a "firm economic hand." Much will depend on whether we are able to curb the growth of unearned income and whether we can handle the troglodyte egotism of the enterprises and cooperatives. Without the use of power we will simply be unable to reduce capital investments in Group A. And we must all support in earnest N.I. Ryzhkov and the government in order that the program prove feasible.

[Correspondent] What do you have to say about a restructuring of imports?

[Shatalin] An approximate doubling thereof is, as you know, envisaged in the consumer sector, and this is a very effective, good measure, I believe. It will improve the budget situation and reduce the strain on the consumer market, but this is a short-term and temporary measure and cannot improve our dynamics. The main thing—and I have already spoken about this and now reiterate—we have the need and right to move toward capital imports. We will build together with the West the most modern auto-manufacturing plants and produce home appliances and electronic equipment and so forth; that is, we will create essentially a radically different consumer sector and radically different industry. The creation of such facilities will automatically make more serious technological, technical and economic demands on the country's economy. I maintain with all responsibility: this is not debt-slavery.

[Correspondent] An opportunity for incorporation in the world economy is opening up, I agree. But an obstacle on this path is the nonconvertibility of the ruble. How can this be overcome?

[Shatalin] It would be better, of course, were it rich and healthy, but the problem of the convertibility of our ruble should not be exaggerated at this time. Speaking of imports of capital, this is what I have in mind—I would borrow hard currency and together with Western specialists (paying them in their own currency in order to help assimilate their capital) I would create a new sector, in the very short order which is for them customary, what is more. Ruble convertibility is not that essential here, it works to a greater extent in other situations—at the time of the creation of joint ventures and during overseas trips, for example.... Capital imports could prove all the more useful, in that making the ruble convertible in the next few years is impossible, of this I am convinced, but we need to make a qualitative change in industry as quickly as possible.

[Correspondent] But many people are convinced, and are convincing others, that a convertible ruble could be introduced as of the new year even.

[Shatalin] Out-and-out recklessness. We have no conditions for this. The most impoverished quality of consumer goods and services, machine tools which are impossible by world standards, and the sole thing which could help is oil....

[Correspondent] Which, luckily, no one needs in quantities such as would suffice to support the ruble.

[Shatalin] Luckily, yes, otherwise we would have sold off everything. We do not as yet have even convertibility of the ruble into commodities (basic necessities, frequently), but are promising the people external convertibility, convertibility into hard currency. Only via efficiency, a motivational mechanism and modern technology, only via the quality of our commodities will we approach in earnest ruble convertibility. Yugoslavia is a graphic example of that to which an absolutely ill-conceived attempt, in my view, at making the dinar convertible has led.

[Correspondent] And what can you say about the new government body—the Economic Reform Commission?

[Shatalin] It is necessary here to fractionate the variables, as the mathematicians say. First, I believe it wrong that the office of chairman of this commission is held by Academician Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Not because Leonid Ivanovich is a bad scientist. He is an excellent, strong, knowledgeable economist and a specialist who feels keenly for the cause. But his rank in the Soviet hierarchy.... Is it conceivable that one who is not a member of the Politburo should be responsible for the economic reform, for the country's survival and its future? Of course, the person to whom this work is entrusted needs to be made a member of the Politburo and endowed with the appropriate authority, and the restructuring of the economy would then progress far more scientifically and vigorously. As long as we intend doing more than just paying lip service to it.

Second, there is the method of brainstorming a problem. But specialists know that a group of more than 5-7 persons becomes unmanageable, in such storms included. For this reason the commission is a commission, but I believe that small, 3- or 4-man groups of their own advisers would be highly useful to both Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. It by no means signifies that these people should replace the Gosplan, the Council of Ministers, and the reform committees and commissions, but the president and the premier would have an opportunity with the aid of such advisers to analyze in far greater depth the solutions with which they are presented by, say, the chairman of the Reform Commission.

And, further, real statistics are needed like the air we breathe for we do not know how we are living.

[Correspondent] What do you expect of the coming Supreme Soviet session?

[Shatalin] The most important law which should be enacted in the very near future is a property law. Of course, it must first undergo nationwide discussion; it cannot be enacted without this. In the same way, via a referendum, we need to push through other bills of exceptional importance—on the socialist enterprise and entrepreneurship and on a uniform tax system. Finally, the fourth most important document of this package is a law on power. Altogether they will create the legal basis for transformation of the economic and political mechanism in our country. The next congress of people's deputies could be held after this.

To speak of political structures, I am convinced that we need a presidential form of administration of the country. Currently, however, we have a combination of the Byzantine, French, and American systems. Formally our president is Gorbachev, he being chairman of the national assembly (not yet premier, thank God)—there being nothing like this in any other country, of course. Division of powers does not exist. We need to bring order to bear here and take pains to ensure that as a matter of priority

there be a real vice president capable of taking over the reins of leadership in full, if need be.

[Correspondent] So, private property, division of powers, and presidential administration—precisely the ideas which in some discussions are being called reckless and political intrigues.

[Shatalin] Alas, such things are being heard from persons not in the front row of the country's leadership. But, together with the people, I have reached these ideas through suffering, and they contain our right to live according to the laws of civilization. And I have shown by my whole life, I hope, that I do not deserve the least reproach for recklessness.

[Correspondent] Stanislav Sergeyevich, is there in the world economy a model acceptable for us, or are we condemned to eternally seek our own inimitable paths?

[Shatalin] It is time, I believe, for the Slavophiles to unite with the Westerners and turn to face the West. We could pay closer attention to the experience of Japan, South Korea, China....

[Correspondent] A Sweden, which is increasingly being called a country of real socialism?

[Shatalin] It is difficult for us to copy it; we lack the culture. We have a different philosophy. We altogether cannot and will not copy anyone. The same W.W. Leontieff says: It would be difficult to try and build an American economy in your economy. A different country, and such a distinctive one at that!

[Correspondent] To what extent might we count in the renovation of the economy on outside assistance?

[Shatalin] In many processes the West's assistance is for us simply essential. With credit, the setting up of a stock exchange and the market—this means expertise also—and with technical assistance. We need now to send a huge number of our people to laboratories and firms—to learn, learn, learn. We need to invite to our industry top managers and consultants from the West. They would grasp our reality very quickly and help rationalize it.

[Correspondent] What kind of state sector should there be in the economy, in your opinion?

[Shatalin] At the time of their enthusiasm for nationalization the French and the British socialized the auto- and aircraft-manufacturing firms even. But to revitalize the economy Thatcher denationalized virtually everything in her country. And we had an interesting discussion in this connection with her chancellor of the exchequer. The burden thereof (this is rudimentary for the professional economist, alas, but we are starting from the beginning) was that nothing which is any good and which moves should be socialized. It should be allowed free rein and should progress on the basis of competition. Consequently, what may practicably be taken into state control? The infrastructure—the telephone system, for example, roads,

the social sphere, and the most unique facilities. Control of the financial and credit system, protection of natural-ecological potential. But state ownership in respect of automobile manufacture is pointless. Why have unprofitable state defense plants if it is possible to order at the plants of a profitable engineering company all that the state desires, weapons included? And of a higher quality, what is more, I would note, than at a state-owned enterprise.

[Correspondent] A few days ago the cooperative movement only just avoided a very powerful, perhaps, fatal, blow. Just 20 votes of people's deputies saved it at the session from an attempt to bring the cooperatives under the control of the state bureaucracy—I can imagine what this was like for you, who took a hand in the restoration of this sector in our economy.

[Shatalin] I remain convinced that it is the cooperative system which is a principal factor of the dynamization of our country. But we did everything to cover the cooperatives with shame. We failed to think through to what they should be devoting themselves primarily and failed to elaborate mechanisms of their taxation and supply. We allowed the failures of the state sector to be covered up by a search for scapegoats in the shape of the cooperatives and brainless economists. This was all in the past, and how it all ended, we know.

[Correspondent] How do you see our economy by the year 2000?

[Shatalin] One thing I can say for sure—it will be difficult for us to catch up with the others. We will be able to clothe ourselves and feed ourselves, but we will not be the leaders, we need to understand this and shed illusions. We have a tragic history, a vast country with a difficult climate and wretched infrastructure. We do not need to overtake America. Nor do we need to overtake Europe. We need to make our country respectable in a material respect and to ensure that everyone may remain himself here. We will not be the first in the world in terms of efficiency, we will not be the first in terms of social provision, will not be for a long time, in any event. But we will be a decent society, with which Europe, America, and the East will endeavor to do business. And will endeavor thus, I am profoundly convinced, because the peoples of our union have gigantic potential of spirituality, culture, tolerance, and inventiveness in the surmounting of the problems confronting the whole modern world. And we have a fantastic gene pool and an unparalleled capacity for self-restoration. How many times it has been said that Russia is in ashes! And each time it has arisen. These are, I believe, very big trump cards of ours.

Gilyarovskiy said: "Russia has two misfortunes: the power of darkness below, and the darkness of power above." Our leaders' first task is to lessen both. Second, despite all the fears of which we have spoken, I as a professional do not see the least reason for panic. Not the least! It is necessary only to follow the words of Dante: "A strong heart is needed here; fear must not give counsel here."

Sokolov on Belorussian SSR Plans for Chernobyl Cleanup, Self-Financing

18300804 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 30 Jul 89 pp 1-2

[Speech by Ye. Ye. Sokolov at the 11th session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation]

[Text] Dear comrade deputies!

For the second day the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet is examining problems of vast importance for the vital activity of the republic and its people.

The fundamental and interested discussion of the draft of the state program for eliminating the consequences of the accident—and this is the common pain of the residents of Belorussia and some regions of the country's other republics—once again indicates that the acuteness of the general alarm and concern about the health of present, as well as future, generations of our people has not been dulled even after the expiration of 3 years.

I, as secretary of the Central Committee, am happy that deputies of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, like USSR people's deputies from Belorussia, are discussing as a team problems concerning state and human interests so sharply, fundamentally, and competently.

Our session has shown once again that deputies of this and past convocations are well-trained statesmen, not only mechanisms for insensible voting, as some try to depict them. I will not be mistaken if I say that our people's high-level political activity is the result of perestroika. We must continue on this path.

One must agree with the speaker and with deputies' speeches that party, Soviet, and economic bodies, scientific and public health institutions, builders, trade and domestic service workers, and subunits of the Soviet Army and civil defense did a great deal in order to create basically safe living and working conditions for the population.

Our people's best moral qualities—courage, endurance, and readiness to come to victims' help—were manifested in the fight against the Chernobyl misfortune.

Elimination of the consequences of the accident is under the close attention of the CPSU Central Committee, the country's government, and the republic's party and Soviet bodies. The situation created in the regions that suffered was repeatedly discussed at the Belorussian CP Central Committee Bureau and the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers.

Those who maintain that the republic has remained face to face with the misfortune and has refused help from Union bodies are not right. To put it mildly, this is a provocation. Our requests have always met with great understanding and support at the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers and continue

to do so. At the end of last year these problems were thoroughly discussed at the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. Not long ago at the request of the republic's leadership and with our participation problems of eliminating the consequences of the accident were examined by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. They instructed Union ministries and departments to search for additional opportunities and to provide the measures outlined by us with material and financial resources.

I think that every sensible person should realize that it is beyond the powers of one republic to find vast funds for the fulfillment of the state program. We have already spent more than 1 billion rubles and in 1990-1995 we will have to use more than 10 billion. Therefore, the basic share of the funds will be sent from Union sources. Naturally, for the sake of interests of people who are in trouble we have also utilized all the opportunities existing in the republic and we will continue to do so. I would like to support the initiative of the deputy who spoke here and to also transfer my monthly earnings as a deputy into the relief fund for those who suffered from the Chernobyl accident.

Nevertheless, it should be stated that by no means everything that was required and that could have been done was done. That is why the anxiety manifested by people living in contaminated areas is so understandable.

As you see for yourselves, the draft of the state program for eliminating the consequences of the accident submitted to you for consideration represents an entire set of measures of an organizational, scientific, economic, and sociopolitical nature.

The abstract from the big document has misled all of us, although all the speakers made many highly intelligent proposals, which should be taken into consideration when the finishing touches are put on the state program.

The concept of people's resettlement seems correct: They cannot be left where it is impossible to obtain clean products and to carry out production and economic activity without any restrictions. At the same time, however, their consent must be obtained without fail. We must not permit that man's fate be decided against his will.

On the other hand, it is also necessary to take into account that in many settlements the contamination level is not high. It is fully possible that, as a result of implementation of various measures, it will be either lowered considerably, or will disappear completely. In such cases resettlement becomes inadvisable. However, here we must listen without fail to the opinion of both specialists and the residents themselves.

A vast volume of work on the construction of housing and projects for production and cultural-general purposes, civic improvements in settlements, and construction of roads, electric transmission lines, and gas pipelines will have to be done in the next few years.

Of course, it is impossible to do this with the forces of labor collectives in Gomel and Mogilev oblasts alone. Therefore, to increase help to those who are in trouble and to do everything that is necessary to most rapidly eliminate the consequences of the accident is the patriotic duty and sacred obligation of every labor collective and every resident in the republic.

I think that it would be correct to develop specific plans of actions at all enterprises and organizations and to determine our contribution to the implementation of the envisaged program. They should be brought together from rayons, cities, and oblasts and submitted to the republic's Council of Ministers for inclusion in the plans for 1990 and subsequent years.

I assume that the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet will have a positive attitude toward the noble initiative of labor collectives, creative unions, public organizations, and the republic's citizens, who have decided to give free monetary help to the regions that suffered.

I would like to stress once again: Any question connected with eliminating the consequences of the accident directly relates to people and their daily needs and concerns. Consequently, our attitude toward the fulfillment of every point of the program should also be appropriate.

I am forced to bring up an increase in the responsibility of personnel and of both local and republic bodies for the program's fulfillment, because during previous years the envisaged measures were not realized fully and always with the best quality. One of the reasons for this lies in the weak control and coordinating efforts on the part of the commission of the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro and the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers.

In this connection the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro considered it necessary to have in the republic's government a deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, who would constantly deal with this problem. Similar positions were introduced at Gomel and Mogilev oblast executive committees. A department for eliminating the consequences of the accident was established at the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and special groups in main economic administrations, at oblast executive committees.

The course of eliminating the consequences of the accident will be considered quarterly at the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro.

Comrades! The problem of the republic's transition to self-financing and self-administration has acquired vital importance for the republic.

Under conditions of socialism every nation should have the right, as well as a real opportunity, to retain its independence, originality, culture, traditions, and language. For this it is necessary to develop effective state and public mechanisms ensuring an organic combination of national and international values and interests. Of course, such mechanisms should be developed simultaneously with the restructuring of economic, social, and political relations along the paths of democratization of Soviet society and establishment of the people's socialist self-administration. At the same time, tasks connected with radically transforming the Soviet Federation and filling it with a real political and economic content are put in the forefront.

A vast potential is inherent in Soviet federalism. However, in order to utilize it fully, it is necessary to ensure an optimal correlation between the rights and powers of the Union republics and of the USSR as a whole. In connection with this a number of central questions, among which the republics' transition to self-financing and self-administration is the most important, require a solution. We have in mind the establishment of an economic system based not on commands and orders, but on economic methods of management regulated by law.

As already noted, plants and factories producing about one-half of the industrial products, as well as all enterprises of the agro-industrial complex, construction, trade, and the social sphere, are placed under our republic's direct jurisdiction. Which of them should be subordinated to the republic link and which, to the oblast, rayon, or city link? I believe that the economic management center should be shifted to localities and a well-adjusted mechanism of mutual relations should be established there.

Of course, an expansion of the economic independence of territories should not lead to an infringement of the cost-accounting rights of the basic production link—enterprise, kolkhoz, or cooperative—and to a replacement of the dictate of departments with the dictate of local bodies.

It is very important to clarify to all and everyone: The well-being of oblasts, cities, and rayons will entirely depend on the efficiency and final results of work of the enterprises and organizations located on their territory, because self-provision and self-financing become the basis for self-administration.

Up to now republic, oblast, city, and rayon budgets have been formed from the determination and coordination of expenditures and deficient income has been made up for from a superior budget. Therefore, many cadres have not given special thought to how much income a region receives, how much funds it spends and on what, and what its contribution to the all-Union money box is.

Here is the result: With positive shifts in the increase in industrial and agricultural production and profit and

improvement in other quantitative and qualitative indicators a tendency toward an outstripping growth of income over expenditure has appeared in the republic.

The new mechanism of forming rayon and city budgets will evoke interest primarily in an increase in the volumes of production of agricultural products and consumer goods and in the development of services. Consequently, local income is the main source of strengthening the financial base of local budgets, primarily through an increase in the efficiency of work of the local economy and of other enterprises and organizations located on soviet territory.

Why do I focus your attention precisely on this aspect?

It contains the key and the material basis for restructuring the work of soviets in a sphere, where each of us directly comes in contact with the Soviet Government and judges its reality and prestige from many actions, which externally are imperceptible, but are very important for man's life organization. The more a soviet will have deductions into its budget, the more quickly and successfully it will begin to build housing, kindergartens, hospitals, schools, stores, and roads and to solve other social problems.

Self-administration and self-financing principles also prompt us to approach in a new way the implementation of scientific and technical policy, improvement in the quality and competitiveness of products, expansion of foreign economic relations, development of the cooperative movement, and solution of other problems.

I will dwell in brief on three problems. The first concerns the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and organization of scientific support for our plans and schemes. The efforts of academic and sectorial science should be directed toward the solution of both regional and statewide problems. For now, however, it works primarily according to the subjects of Union bodies.

Strengthening the republic's financial situation is the second problem. A tendency toward its deterioration has appeared recently. This is due to the growing tension on the consumer market, to the excessive growth of above-plan expenditures on wages, and to the essentially uncontrolled process of issue of ready cash to cooperatives.

Why does this happen? First of all, because economic methods have not become the decisive tool in the activity of many managers. For example, for the purpose of an unsubstantiated increase in wages many enterprises and organizations use even funds intended for production and social development and find all kinds of loopholes for payments of unearned money with the help of cooperatives. Money not in cash is groundlessly transformed into ready money. In January-July 15.7 million rubles were received in accounts of cooperatives, but 202 million rubles of ready cash, including 160 million rubles for wage payment, were issued to them.

This cannot and should not continue. The Council of Ministers, the republic's ministries and departments, and executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies should thoroughly analyze the financial status and take steps to improve the situation. First of all, it is necessary to stop the payment of unearned money.

Our immediate task is to improve production efficiency everywhere, to introduce a strict policy of saving, to expand the output of consumer goods, and to provide paid services to the public.

Cooperatives require the closest attention. Our people have followed their formation with great hopes, expecting big opportunities in the cooperative movement for the most rapid increase in various goods and services.

However, it is impossible not to see another thing as well. Dishonest people and various kinds of speculators and crooks, who try to do less, but to take more, have attached themselves to cooperatives. The income of many cooperative workers, especially those employed in trade-purchase and intermediate spheres, is far from adequate to their labor contribution. Every third cooperative, which is registered and has received a loan, has not begun work.

A legitimate question arises: Why are our banks indifferent to the use of state funds? Why do they not put cooperative workers under conditions prompting them to ensure the recovery of issued credits during the shortest time?

Many cooperatives have tilted toward the output of products for enterprises and organizations. For example, only one-fourth of all the articles produced by them were sold to the population during the first quarter of the current year.

All this discredits the cooperative movement and causes the population's negative attitude toward it.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro examined this matter recently. The attention of party members—directors of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and of oblast executive committees—was drawn to the need to take urgent measures to eliminate serious shortcomings in the development of cooperatives and to observe the established order in the setting up and activity of cooperatives. Local soviets should examine each of them and determine which cooperatives should be left and encouraged and which should be simply closed. There should be one criterion here: High-quality goods and services for prices within the reach of the mass consumer.

The republic's recently established Union of Cooperatives is called upon to prevent negative phenomena and to search for efficient ways of interaction of cooperatives with state management bodies in the population's

interest. These people should realize that their reputation will largely depend on their own labor and civic responsibility for meeting society's urgent needs.

The third problem, to which I want to draw your attention during the period of preparation for the transition to self-administration, is the protection of our internal consumer market. All of us know well that the shortage of many goods is aggravated in connection with the intensified influx of customers from the country's other regions, where the unbalance of the market is even greater than in our republic. The drain of commodity resources has also increased sharply through the channels of postal parcels and container shipments by railroad. For example, 10.6 million such parcels were shipped last year alone. An uncontrolled commodity exchange, which is widely practised by industrial and trade enterprises and cooperatives, has become another channel for the drain of goods outside the republic.

In connection with this some protective measures have been taken. By the order of the Main Administration of State Customs Control under the USSR Council of Ministers additional restrictions on the export of a number of consumer goods from the country were introduced as of 15 July of this year.

Commodity exchange operations, export of consumer articles outside the country, and postal-transport shipments were also regulated by the decision of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers. In a number of cases executive committees of local soviets norm the distribution of scarce goods.

Comrades, I would like to stress that all these are forced measures dictated by the need to ensure the vitally important interests of the republic's workers. Today the situation on the consumer market is such that, along with the accomplishment of the main task, that is, an accelerated increase in the volumes of production of goods and services, it is necessary to be also constantly concerned with an improvement in the system of measures for the protection of the internal consumer market and for a sound and efficient distribution and utilization of internal stocks and resources.

Nor should we keep silent about the fact that provocative rumors circulate intensely: The republic exports almost all the produced food products to the country's other regions. I must state decisively: This is a lie of the first order. Not a single kilogram of meat or milk in excess of the plan was shipped outside the republic during the past 6 months. Moreover, we underdelivered 1,500 tons of meat products, as compared with the Union plan for state deliveries, and almost 7,000 tons, as compared with what was attained last year. At the same time, during 6 months of the current year meat consumption in the republic increased by 5 percent, or by 11,200 tons.

However, with all this I would like to stress that it would be extremely erroneous to expect success in self-financing and self-administration without taking into consideration the interests of other state regions. The

country's economic threads are so interconnected that it is impossible to cut them without losses.

We should organically combine the strengthening of the republic's independence with economic integration, whose benefits have already been demonstrated by Soviet and world experience, and with the addition of production and scientific-technical potentials of all the country's regions. It is also important to create real conditions for the implementation of joint plans on a bilateral and multilateral basis and to form interrepublic commissions for economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation.

We will have to work on regional cost-accounting and self-financing principles during the entire next year and to enter the 13th Five-Year Plan with a qualitatively new mechanism of territorial administration.

All of us understand that the social and political situation in the republic will largely depend on how matters stand with these key directions of our activity—I have in mind both the transition to self-administration and elimination of the consequences of the accident.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia held in June of this year reached the conclusion that, on the whole, this situation makes it possible to fulfill the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and of the 19th party conference and the assignments of the five-year plan. I consider it necessary to report on some results of 6-month work to deputies of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The national income increased by 5.3 percent. Its entire increase was obtained owing to a rise in labor productivity. According to a preliminary evaluation, in December of the current year the republic's industry will reach the assignments envisaged at the end of the five-year plan. In particular, the fact that the output of consumer goods increased by 7.4 percent points to the strengthening of the social reorientation of the economy. Consumer goods worth 460 million rubles in excess of the plan were obtained. The retail trade turnover increased by 10.7 percent and paid services to the population, by 12.5. The republic coped with the 6-month plan for purchases of livestock, poultry, and milk.

The prospects for the harvest of grain crops, potatoes, and fodder and industrial crops are not bad. The yield averages more than 30 quintals per hectare.

However, these shifts do not bring us to the level of requirements placed today on the rates of dynamization of social-political and economic life.

Many problems are being solved extremely slowly. Some economic managers underestimate the existing social tension. You know where and in what spheres it is especially great.

The situation in agriculture requires much attention. During the first 6 months it was not possible to ensure a stable growth of the production of livestock products and

livestock productivity. Weight gains in livestock were 3 percent lower than during the first 6 months of last year. Milk yields decreased by 1 percent.

Let us ask ourselves the following questions: Why are things beginning to get worse in a number of places? Why, despite the measures taken, is the situation on the consumer market deteriorating and inflation growing? Why are demagogues becoming insolent and hooligans and drunkards feel that they are the masters on streets and in public places? Why has the number of crimes and accidents increased? Answers to each of these questions are by no means unequivocal. In my opinion, however, there is one generalizing position, which somehow has fallen out of our field of vision imperceptibly and quietly.

I am talking about discipline. This concept must be immediately added to the presently widespread triad—perestroika, democratization, and glasnost. The subject of labor discipline, performance discipline, and behavior discipline should again occupy an appropriate place in the work of labor collectives, Soviet and party bodies, and economic managers and on pages of mass information media.

If we do not do this, friability, which is becoming increasingly noticeable in our society's pores, will become a hindrance to the development of the republic's economy and culture. Our duty is to prevent this!

Do not seek in my words a veiled appeal to suppress democracy and to change over to volitional methods of management. I am an advocate of the point of view that extremes have never led to good things in the economy or politics. A balance and a sober and objective evaluation are needed in all matters. In my opinion, the essence lies in the fact that, developing processes of democratization, we have neglected problems of discipline and responsibility to a certain extent. But democracy without responsibility is the same as a tree without roots: It is doomed to dying.

We are especially concerned about the decline in the performance discipline of cadres. A decrease in the authority of decisions by collective management bodies and, consequently, in the authority of these bodies themselves has become the consequence of this.

Who of us today will not name a manager, who gets out from under the influence of Soviet bodies to an ever greater extent? Who of us will not name people, including among deputies, who are indifferent to the opinion of the labor collective and the soviet and to public opinion? The syndrome of sterile superdemocratism and the fear of having a reputation for being against perestroika have paralyzed the will of some managers and even entire executive committees.

Did the above-mentioned weeds not bloom and negative aspects not appear on this ground?

When the conversation turns to them, there are comrades who state the following: First, our shortcomings are of a transitional nature. Second, they cannot be even remotely compared with those observed in the country's other regions.

Thus, some people are not averse to perceiving the negative processes in interethnic relations, strikes, and various kinds of extremist manifestations as a background on which their own oversights and imperfections are not visible. Those who think so are not merely mistaken, but, in essence, hamper perestroika.

No matter how difficult and complex the situation in some of the country's regions may be, in no way does it justify the miscalculations caused by the lack of discipline, irresponsibility, and inability of specific workers to manage efficiently in localities.

Today people take such miscalculations much more intensely. The events in the country's coal regions have also shown this. We should not pretend that this does not concern us. It does! The necessary conclusions should be drawn from this in all administration and management structures—in the Supreme Soviet, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, local party and soviet bodies, labor collectives, and public organizations.

As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed in his speech at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the chief thing lies in sharply turning all our work toward people's daily needs and toward meeting their requirements.

In the republic there are many soviets, which, not waiting for a legislative regulation concerning the activity of local bodies of power, skillfully and purposefully intensify work on the key directions on which people's social feeling depends.

Positive shifts in the following rayon soviets of people's deputies are noticeable: Dzerzhinskiy, in the construction of hard-surface roads; Ivanovskiy, in the population's self-provision with food products; Mostovskiy, in civic improvements in settlements. The activity of the following rural soviets deserves support: Kochishchevskiy in Yelskiy Rayon, in an overall solution of problems concerning the social reorganization of rural areas; Germanovichskiy in Sharkovshchinskiy Rayon, in the establishment of centers for social services; Polykovichskiy in Mogilevskiy Rayon, in an improvement in the work of domestic and trade service enterprises.

Of course, to accelerate the positive changes in one sphere or another means not only to shoulder a heavier load, but also to assume additional responsibility. Some managers of both soviet and party and economic bodies have not yet accustomed themselves to this.

Meanwhile, it should be stated openly: People who have been entrusted with a great deal are responsible for the

state of affairs and for the social and political situation in a labor collective, a rayon, a city, an oblast, and a republic.

An analysis of the events occurring in some of the country's republics and regions also enables me to draw the conclusion that no one will come to us, to Belorussia, to our oblasts and rayons to introduce order and to manage affairs.

We should proceed from this and from this alone, organizing work in the areas entrusted to us and manifesting persistence, initiative, and independence in thinking and actions and adherence to principles and exactingness.

Whereas only yesterday people put up with the slowness and sluggishness of certain soviet and economic managers, today they do not want to do so.

And those who do not understand this do not understand the very essence of perestroika—the fact that man's interests are in its center. Man and he alone, his social feeling, and the degree of satisfaction of his needs and requirements determine the level of our work today.

Yes, a great deal depends on the center. However, to try to put the blame on the center alone is a hopeless endeavor, because it dims people's enthusiasm, stifles their initiative, and weakens their persistence in the solution of local problems.

Soviets of all levels and managers of labor collectives must look once again at how problems within their competence are solved. In one place it will be advisable to hold a session and in another, to discuss the accumulated matters in a working order.

We must act, act decisively and purposefully. And, at the same time, we must remember that the implementation of economic and political reforms, democratization of management at all levels, and constructive solutions of urgent problems are impossible without the activity of the working class, peasantry, labor and creative intelligentsia, and party, war, and labor veterans and without their interest and creative efforts.

Work should be organized so that workers' trust in local bodies of power increases constantly.

Preparations are now being made for elections of the people's deputies in the republic and local soviets, which are to be held in February-March of next year.

The elaboration of draft laws on changes and supplements in the Belorussian SSR Constitution, as well as of the draft law on elections, is being completed. In the very near future they will be published in the press for a general discussion and after that will be submitted to the regular session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet for consideration. Many questions concerning the holding of posts of first secretaries of party committees and chairmen of soviets are received. We have

exchanged opinions with party and Soviet workers for a long time and have reached the conclusion that this should not be done.

Getting ready for the forthcoming elections, we should utilize tested and new forms and methods of work with people and take into account that the forthcoming election campaign will prove to be more complex than the past one for us.

At the same time, I would like to stress once again: The forthcoming elections represent a crucial test of maturity of all our cadres and of their ability to wage the most genuine political fight.

It is important right now to carry out purposeful explanatory work, to profoundly study people's business-like, political, and moral qualities, and to uncover true leaders and real fighters for perestroika.

The success of the election campaign will largely depend on how we are able to ensure at all stages the activity and unity of actions of party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations, state bodies, and the entire public.

I would like to finish [my speech] with the following: Vast work on transferring the republic to self-administration is ahead for soviets of all levels, but we do not have experience in this matter. Consequently, we will have to face new difficulties, to learn new forms and methods of work, and to teach them to others, not forgetting that the problem of the Chernobyl misfortune will demand additional efforts, energy, and will.

I would like to believe that, despite these tremendous difficulties, the ardor that our people and our cadres have, that you—the people's choices—have, will enable us to cope with these tasks.

I wish each and everyone of you success in these matters.

Lithuanian SSR Draft Law On Referendums Discussed

*18001650 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
19 Aug 89 p 2*

[Article by O. Zastrozhnaya, docent at the Voronezh State University: "A Discussion of the Draft of the LiSSR Law on the Referendum—The First in the Country"]

[Text] Recently in the Lithuanian republic a series of principally new legal drafts have been prepared, creating the basis for a genuinely legal government, founded on respect for personal rights and the mutual responsibility of the state and the citizen, as well as the state's responsibility to society. One of these most significant drafts is the Law on the Referendum. Although this is the first attempt at creating such a law in the USSR, I believe that it has been completely successful. The Law has a consistently democratic character. This applies to the enunciated goals and principles of the referendum, as well as to

the procedure suggested for disclosing initiatives concerning the referendum and the organization of the people's vote itself.

However, certain articles require, in my opinion, more precision and revision. My suggestions may be summarized as follows.

1. In the first article it would be advisable to give an explanation of the referendum itself, as there is none at this time in either this draft or the LiSSR Constitution. For example, "a referendum is the adoption of a law or other government decision by means of a people's vote."

2. Article 7 speaks about the types of referendums, mandatory and elective. However, an interpretation of the meaning of these terms as they are used is required. Judging by the exhaustive list of questions cited in the article (Lithuania's right to self-determination, affirmation of the Constitution, affirmation of the laws relating to existing questions of the legal status of citizens, ratification and denunciation[?] of the most important international agreements), they could only be settled only by mandatory referendum. That is, no other organ, including the Supreme Soviet, has the right to adopt laws relating to these questions. If this is so, it would have been more accurate to emphasize not the initiative, but the Supreme Soviet's obligation to put these questions to a people's vote.

3. In Article 8 "The Right to an Initiative for the Announcement of an Elective Referendum," it would have been more logical to exchange the places of the two subjects of the right to an initiative in the first paragraph: name the people first, and then the deputies to the republic's Supreme Soviet, insofar as the sovereign people holds a higher place in the system of social self-administration.

4. A series of contradictions exist between the new laws adopted in the republic and the draft of the LiSSR Constitution. Specifically, the draft of the Constitution (art. 5, 82, 84) mentions the Congress of People's Deputies. It is obvious that this institution—which is to a certain extent justified, especially in large republics, as long as forms of direct democracy are undeveloped—loses its meaning in Lithuania with the adoption and practice of a law on referendums.

5. In Article 12 of the draft, the formulation of the third part comes across as inexact and even contradictory: "The proposal for the announcement of a referendum, presented in the form of a people's initiative, has the force of an imperative, therefore the LiSSR Supreme Soviet can decline this proposal only through the adoption of a motivated declaration by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the entire number of deputies." The term "imperativeness" of the people's initiative is hardly acceptable if a decision on that initiative is not made by the Supreme Soviet anyway, and it can be declined. Imperativeness in this case assumes only the obligation of the Supreme Soviet to examine the question of an initiative. For this reason, I suggest that the words "has

the force of an imperative" be excluded from the third part of Article 12, and that it be further refined editorially.

Without a doubt, the greatest variety of opinions will be expressed in discussion of the Law on the Referendum. But even with all of its unavoidable inadequacies and inaccuracies, this act's place in the legislature is already defined: it is the first Law on the People's Referendum in Soviet history.

Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Discusses Report on Military Service

90UN0086a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
4 Oct 89 pp 1-3

[Speeches at the 30th session of the 11th Convocation of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet by Algimantas Visotskis, Alfredas Smaylis, Zofiya Belitskene, and Grigoriy Krivosheyev: "Debate on Information Concerning the Military Service of Citizens of the Republic"]

[Text]

Speech by Deputy Algimantas Visotskis

Dear Comrade Deputies! After hearing the report of Yu. Antanaytis, the chairman of the republic's Commission on Matters Concerning the Military Service of Youth, I want to note its complete objectivity. The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the Council of Ministers of the republic, the cited commission, and social organizations gave effective assistance to the military commissariats of the republic in resolving many problems associated with the service of youth in the armed forces.

Perestroyka is taking place in the armed forces regardless of whether we want to admit this or not. True, it is taking place very quietly and slowly, but it is taking place. Both the city and rayon military commissariats are changing their methods and style of work.

More than 50 percent of our personnel have been replaced. A lot of young and energetic people have been accepted, and among them there are more Lithuanians, or those who have a good command of the Lithuanian language and who know the history and culture of Lithuania. Articles and interviews with officers of military commissariats, in which they talk about their problems frankly, are appearing more frequently in the republic and rayon press. Meetings are being held with the mothers of soldiers, and there are open-house days and other measures. Visitor reception days have been established in all military commissariats—on Tuesdays and Thursdays until 2000 hours, and on Saturdays until 1500 hours.

It appears that jointly with the government of the republic and social organizations we were able to achieve some changes in pertinent documents that regulate the procedure for the call-up of youth into the army and the

performance of service. Thus, amendments have been made to 15 items of the Order of the USSR Minister of Defense No 260 "On the Introduction of Provisions for Medical Examinations in the USSR Armed Forces." As a result, about 800 youths will not be called into the army this autumn for reasons of health. We were able to transfer some youths, against whom acts of violence and outrageous treatment were committed, to other units or districts—to the Belorussian, Baltic, and Moscow Military Districts.

We were able to arrange it so that servicemen returned from crop harvesting earlier—25-29 September, i.e., their period of service was reduced from 180 to 90 days. We are now preparing a letter to the USSR Minister of Defense about negative facts in military units respecting the youth of our republic that are well-known to us.

Today I want to dwell on unresolved problems. Such as the preparation of youth for service, military patriotic education, and call-up to active military service and to training and special camps. They have a negative effect not only on the internal work of military commissariats, but also on the attitude of the population, the leadership of the republic, and the rayon managers toward the military commissariat. I want to say that we cannot by far independently resolve all of the problems that have piled up.

I will note some of the most important problems which were raised recently by residents of the republic. First, the special call-up, which is conducted by a decision of the government of the USSR for the elimination of the effects of natural disasters, and also for providing support for harvesting crops in those rayons of the country where there is not enough manpower. We do not agree that assignment to work in other rayons is an obligation of the military commissariats. In our view, if persons who have a military service obligation—workers in the national economy—are called up according to the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers and the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers then this must be directly decided by local soviet organs or ministries who have an interest in this. In this event, the problem of wages for these workers would be decided.

Second, defense training measures. At the present time, the military commissariat of the republic receives letters and statements from managers of enterprises, work collectives, and the population that express dissatisfaction with the call-up of skilled workers for exercises. It is surprising that now, when enterprises are switching to economic accountability, that a person with a military service obligation must receive an average wage for unfulfilled work. We approve such an opinion and have repeatedly raised the question with the high command. But there is no decision yet, which is indicated in a letter of General of the Army M. Moyseyev, chief of the general staff, replying to a query by V. Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, and the letter to my query. M. Moyseyev reports that the USSR Council of Ministers, under whose jurisdiction

this falls, did not approve the initiative of the USSR Ministry of Defense. In the opinion of the USSR Council of Ministers, in reaching a decision on these questions, it is necessary to be guided by the currently applicable USSR Law "On Universal Military Service." We think that this is incorrect.

Taking into account that our republic is an agricultural one, the military commissariat has turned more than once to the military council of the Baltic Military District with a request to intercede with the General Staff of the Armed Forces about conducting training camps later in autumn or winter. Here we achieved something. As you noted, a majority of the camps which were to have been conducted this year in July, August, and September were postponed until October-December. This was done with the assistance of A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, and V. Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, who appealed to the General Staff and to the commander of the military district.

The third problem. Complaints are coming in about the diversion of citizens from their main work in the event of a call-up for active military service, where they are charged with the performance of technical work in military commissariats. I want the deputies to understand me, we function on the basis of Article 32 of the USSR Law "On Universal Military Service." But we are trying to draw on fewer technical workers, and we are utilizing their services only in the event of extreme necessity. Military commissariats also observe the established schedule strictly. All of this is done being guided by a resolution of the Soviet of People's Deputies and an agreement with the managers of enterprises, establishments, and organizations.

The fourth problem. This is the so-called "dedovshchina," [hazing of conscripts by more senior soldiers] insults, and disorder in individual military units. Although a resolution of this problem is not officially a function of military commissariats (military units are not subordinate to us), but inasmuch as it is the sorest problem in the army, we get more and more letters and appeals from parents of soldiers, and also from the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the republic, from the Commission on Matters Concerning the Military Service of Youth of the Lithuanian SSR Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and other public organizations. That is why we give so much effort and time to this problem. We have just recently received 520 letters of this kind, and we explain each case, and we report to the pertinent directorates of the General Staff, military districts, commanders of large units [soyedineniye] and units [chast]. We have now changed the style of work—we immediately report this to the military procuracy.

Recently, under conditions of such a political situation in the republic, we received 112 collective letters from various units deployed in the European part with a request to transfer soldiers so that they can perform their

service in Lithuania. It should be said that such a possibility does not exist now. They have to serve there where they were assigned.

When possible, we make telephone calls, send telegrams, and ask for assistance. On the whole, unit commands react with understanding and try to look into the situation that has arisen in a unit, and they take steps. I already said that in certain cases we are able to get soldiers transferred to other districts, and we are able to arrange for thorough medical examinations, etc. We often get thanks from parents and the soldiers themselves. But there were cases of biased information, and facts were not always corroborated.

Beginning this autumn, we will do everything so that conscripts who are married and have children will be assigned to service near home. With respect to orphans, there is an understanding with the chairman and members of the commission. We will find a way so that orphans, if they themselves do not want to serve abroad or in other places in the country, would be able to perform service in Lithuania or in the Baltics. There are not that many of them, and it is necessary to help these people.

I would want you to understand that the so-called "dedovshchina" is not only a product of the army. Not removing responsibility for this evil from the military, I will say: This is a result of our general illness. For the armed forces are a part of society. And if the society suffered with this illness for decades, the process of recovery goes that much more slowly, and it is not difficult to understand why low-quality replacements frequently come into the army.

We are troubled by the appeals of some social organizations to return military service cards, comparing the army to a prison, and appeals not to serve in the army. It hurts to hear this, especially in autumn. I will cite some figures. There were 419 such statements: from reserve officers—29; from sergeants and soldiers—255, and from conscripts—135 statements that they do not desire to serve in occupation forces. I want to note that now, when call-up commissions are working, young men pass and remain quiet about the fact that they submitted statements. Mamas bring many of them, because they understand that a youth should perform his military obligation. The mamas are only concerned that their children are not beaten up, and that good conditions are set up for them. Therefore, I ask the deputies for help in this, so that those who turned in statements would not resort to a lawyer. If the law on the performance of service in Lithuania is passed, they will serve in Lithuania, and if the law is passed in Belorussia, they will serve in Belorussia.

I appeal to the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet who are disturbed by this: Be just as insistent in Moscow also. You discussed economic policy, but why were you silent on the call-up for the virgin lands, Chernobyl, and others? Please understand these questions, and help us.

We understand that a lot has to be changed in the work of the military commissariats—we will do this, and we will search for ways of resolving those problems that have come to a head. I would like the Commission on Matters Concerning the Military Service of Youth under the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet to pay more attention to the preparation of young people for military service, to support ties between military units and parents of soldiers, to look into conditions of work, training, and the everyday living of the youth, and to be concerned about the families of soldiers. Apparently, it is necessary to pay more attention to the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] organizations, especially in general education schools and vocational schools, to look into the work of medical commissions, and to help them in assigning youth to the armed forces.

Speech of USSR People's Deputy Alfredas Smaylis

Dear chairman, dear colleague deputies, according to the available data—such as that presented by A. Visotskis—200 youths of call-up age have already turned in their military service cards. And another 700 in the reserves. Thus, it can be said that these people live in fear, on the border of legality and illegality, and they can become social detonators in our society. In deciding the question of their status, we have to give this fact a lot of attention. Especially since this is also connected with the future call-up of the youth of Lithuania for the Soviet Army. Because, after learning that in 1990 youth will serve in Lithuania, a part of those who are now receiving their draft notices may turn in their military service cards. Therefore, I think it would be advisable to note in the resolution that the group of young men in the current call-up also will be able to serve in the Lithuanian army.

I would like to propose broadening the concept of alternative services. Not only religious services and not only work in hospitals, but also work in militia organs should fall under this concept, and, possibly, even construction battalions that are located in Lithuania in which the young men might work. Very likely, this question should be resolved with the problem of people who are in a semi-legal status. The legal evaluation of their activities should be entrusted to Lithuanian law enforcement organs. This is demanded by people at mass meetings and by the mothers of the young people.

One more comment. The respected S. Kashauskas said that there is one general for every 700 soldiers in our army. This is more than there was in the Saigon army. There, there was one general for every 900 soldiers. The whole world laughed when they fought against the people's front of North Vietnam—there were less generals on the North Vietnam front—and they were the first to lose the war. I asked the respected A. Visotskiy how many youths—citizens of Lithuania—serve in the Soviet Army? It turns out there are 36,000. This means there should be 51.4 Lithuanian generals. This attests to the fact that our soldiers are discriminated against in promotions because of nationality. If there were more

officer Lithuanians, the questions of military service and conflict with Lithuanian youths would not be so critical.

Speech of Deputy Zofiya Belitskene

On behalf of the farmers, I would like to make a request and a proposal: Exempt from service in the Soviet Army youths who grew up in a village and who graduated from agricultural technical schools, and also youths who want to work in agriculture or to establish an independent peasant farm by concluding an agreement with the farm on future work. In any case, they have found a clever way out of the situation: They enroll in an academy and study for 5 years.

Speech of Deputy Grigoriy Krivosheyev

Dear Comrade Deputies! I would like to dwell on several of the provisions of the proposed documents and to answer a number of questions.

First. The resolution of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet concerning the call-up of military reservists of the republic for training courses. It is written here in subparagraph "A": Prohibit the USSR Ministry of Defense from calling up military reservists for training courses, etc.

Every such decision and every measure is conducted according to the Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet and a decree of the government. There was an Ukase which compelled us to make call-ups and assignments to Chernobyl, Armenia, Sverdlovsk, and other places. Therefore, this question could have been and should have been stated, it seems to me, in this way: Introduce changes in the USSR Law on Universal Military Service and to stipulate disapproval or approval (this should be decided by people's deputies) of the government to recall persons with a military obligation to perform tasks that are not connected with military service.

And on a second resolution. The question comes up about the fact that Lithuanians should serve in Lithuania, Latvians in Latvia, Estonians in Estonia, etc. I would like to clarify this. The territorial principle of manning the armed forces of the USSR, which was talked about in the report and in speeches, of course, has certain advantages at first glance in comparison with the ex-territorial principle—it reduces the volume of transport, and it keeps the conscripts in climatic conditions and in an ethnic environment to which they are accustomed. In this connection, we are trying as much as possible to let the conscripts perform their military service in their own regions. You know that 25 percent of the conscripts from Lithuania remain in Lithuania. However, it is practically impossible under present conditions to ensure that all youths will perform military service according to their place of residence. There are a number of sufficiently weighty reasons for this.

First, the need of the armed forces for human resources by regions, which arises from necessary deployments,

absolutely does not correspond to the presence of conscript pools in these regions. The extreme North, the Far East, the Transbaykal, and other regions, troops beyond USSR borders, and also naval forces, do not have local sources of conscript pools.

Second, the performance of service in the place of residence is unacceptable in a number of cases due to the absence of the necessary number of military units. I will not reveal a big secret if I say that there are not enough forces in the Baltic Military District to assign Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians to them.

Let us also think about it this way: Will we not infringe upon the rights of our young people, and will we not impoverish them spiritually, if we obligate them to serve, figuratively speaking, across the street from home? But if they want to see the country, to serve beyond the borders of our country, abroad, and to be enriched culturally? Many of those sitting here, very likely, studied not only in Vilnius, but also in Moscow, etc. Why do we impoverish the youth?

And third. The protection of the state is a national matter. It cannot be resolved in a proper way within the framework of regional and republic isolation. This proposition was also reflected in the resolution of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, for which you, Lithuanian deputies, also voted. It says that as long as there are no firm guarantees of the irreversibility of the positive changes that have begun in the area of disarmament and strengthening of verification measures, the assurance of a reliable defense of the country is one of the most important functions of our state. The congress came out for the further qualitative development of the Soviet Army in accordance with the principles of its formation that are in effect.

It is generally known that the armed forces of the USSR are formed on a multinational basis, i.e., all citizens, irrespective of national affiliation, must perform military service in accordance with all-union laws. This was also confirmed by the September plenum. I cannot help but note that service in the entire territory of the USSR and beyond its borders is a question of justice and the equality of citizens of our country. And if we want to create a law-governed state, the citizens must be equal. If everyone will demand a place of service at home, or near home, then this will be very complicated. Because troops are deployed where it is convenient and better, but in such a way that the Motherland can be protected against any threat, wherever it might originate. As Private Tautynysh of the PVO Troops [Air Defense Troops] expressed himself in his letter: "Our sky cannot be divided into Uzbek, Lithuanian, Latvian, or Belorussian. For us it is one, and we have to defend it together."

As I understand, we have a special interest in how youth that are drafted from Lithuania are distributed and where they perform their service. It was already said here that at the present time 36,000 soldiers and 1,280 Lithuanian officers serve in the army. Of these, 40

percent serve in the ground forces, 23 percent in the missile troops of the PVO, 11 percent in military construction units, 10 percent in the navy, and 11 percent in troops of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], the KGB [Committee for State Security], and the railroad troops. On the whole, 75 percent of the Lithuanian youth serve in combat units that require good training and high skills. Eight percent of the Lithuanians serve in the Baltic Military District and neighboring military districts, and only 20 percent in more distant places: 7 percent in the eastern part of the country, 8 percent in the south, and 5 percent abroad.

A majority of the conscripts of Lithuania perform their military duty conscientiously, both on the territory of the republic and beyond its borders. Just last year one out of three Lithuanian soldiers got leave in their homeland. I must say that Lithuanian soldiers also performed their military duty in Afghanistan exceptionally conscientiously.

The dread of regulation-violating treatment of servicemen for ethnic reasons, in my view, is no longer warranted. This dread shows up in cases of unhealthy, and at times harsh, relations between individual soldiers and sergeants, not so much because of ethnic dissension but because of the low level of education of our youth.

The next question concerns ethnic formations. To conduct a discussion on this question, it is necessary to take a considered approach and a detailed account of both objective and subjective factors. When the question concerns ethnic formations, speakers frequently refer to the years 1918-1937, the year 1941, and the middle of the 1950's. We all, very likely, know that the army at that time was always multinational in its composition. The number of servicemen from an indigenous population did not exceed 30-35 percent. For example, indigenous persons constituted 24 percent of the 16th Lithuanian Division, which was formed in the middle of the 1950's.

But let us now look at this problem from a military organization standpoint. First, a contemporary motorized rifle large unit [soyedineniye] or MPVO [local Air Defense] are not the same units from the standpoint of technical equipping that they were during the years of the Great Patriotic War. A reliable defense of the country now requires missile troops, air forces, a navy, and other services and branches of troops. They cannot be deployed on a limited territory under modern conditions. Second, where are specialists to be trained? Let us analyze this. For example, there are 1,800 specialties in the ground forces alone, and in the armed forces overall there are 5,000.

Specialists are trained in training centers located in all regions of the country. As an example, you have a training center to train airborne assault troops. After 5-6 months of training, they are distributed to all forces located on the territory of the Soviet Union and beyond its borders. Latvia has a motorized rifle and tank training center. It also trains and distributes specialists

to all large units and units. I have already said that those units that are located on Lithuanian territory have been reduced to the limit. But should the time come (god forbid that this should happen) when it becomes necessary to deploy units, people will not be transported here either from Belorussia or from other localities, but Lithuanian soldiers will go to those units.

It is well-known that a decision has been made to cut the armed forces by 500,000 persons. This year we will cut by 240,000. And at the same time, it is proposed to deploy national formations, but the people's deputies know that questions on the reduction of the budget of the armed forces are continuing to be decided at sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Of course, the Supreme Soviet has the right to make a decision that the republic allocate some resources to national formations.

We clearly understand and sincerely share the grief of mothers who have lost their sons. In 10 years, 10 persons perished in the Baltic Military District. In 10 years, in the Moscow Military District—9 persons perished, in the Leningrad Military District—8, in the Siberian Military District—7, in the Maritime [Primorskiy] Military District—6, and in the other districts—one person each. That is, more perished closer to home. Although, they say that it is better to serve at home. We appreciate the immensity of the responsibility to preserve the life and health of people. Regarding the measures that have been undertaken, believe me, they are very strict.

At the same time, you will agree that to think that all of this was engendered only by the army would be incorrect. It is now fashionable to criticize the party and the army, and those who criticize more earn great prestige for themselves.

I will cite some negative facts. For example, the growth of crime among young people. Almost 3,000 youth of draft and pre-draft age are on the militia records for breaking the law. This year conscripts committed 705 infringements of the law and crimes, and, all told, minors committed 1,119 law violations, or 45 percent more than last year for this period. But, you see, these young people come into the army. Military commissariat records show 1,506 conscripts who were convicted of various crimes. Part of this group is also called into the army. In the last 2 years, Lithuanian youths, unfortunately, committed 62 crimes, which includes 17 who were convicted previously.

One can also agree with some of the proposals made here. The Order of the Minister of Defense No 260. It has been revised, and sick persons will no longer be called up. But it must be said that not the best doctors are assigned to our commission. And it was said correctly here that it is necessary to announce the lists, and what kind of doctors are assigned to these commissions.

And the last thing. By an order of the Minister of National Education of the Lithuanian SSR of 13 June 1989, lessons in basic military training in the senior classes and in the PTU [vocational training school] are

canceled, and the staff of military instructors is being abolished. Instead of this, it is planned to conduct lessons in so-called inter-school centers in a joint program, and instead of 140 hours, there will be 70 hours. For the time being, neither the centers nor the teachers are ready for this work. It seems to me that the question has been stated incorrectly.

We say that there are not enough Lithuanian officers in the army—all told 1,280. If national formations are created, who will command them? For example, only 188 persons enrolled in an officers school in 1987. In 1988 there were 124, and this year there are only 93. And the acceptance plan for republic special boarding schools has been fulfilled by only 16 percent.

Our children and grandchildren serve in the army, and, understandably, it is not they who are responsible for what happened earlier. A soldier cannot go on pass in Lithuania without hearing shouts of "occupier." What does it matter whether he is a soldier or an officer? And taking down monuments in Kaunas? They removed a tank. Is this culture?

I want to say that we have to resolve many questions together.

1988 Performance of Armenian Construction Sector Blasted

18300790 Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
9 Aug 89 p 1

[Armenpress report: "At the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers: Work of the Armenian State Construction Committee Termed Unsatisfactory"]

[Text] Having examined the results of the financial and economic activity of the republic State Construction Committee for 1988, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers acknowledged them as extremely unsatisfactory.

As of 1 October 1988, the abolished republic ministries of construction and the construction materials industry, the Armenian State Committee for Agricultural Construction (Armagrostroy), and the Armenian SSR State Committee for Construction Affairs, whose work is characterized as negative, were included in the composition of the committee.

During the period under review, there were serious shortcomings and violations. The plan for contract work was fulfilled only to the extent of 77.3 percent, including 77.5 percent by internal means. The volume of work carried out diminished by 74.4 million rubles compared to the preceding year.

Of 414 projects and capacities planned to be put into operation, 288 were not put into commission, for which penalties and fines amounting to 1.2 million rubles were paid.

The plan for the introduction of living space was fulfilled to the extent of only 74.8 percent, of general education schools—71.5 percent, pre-school institutions for children—62.5 percent, hospitals—17.4 percent, and clubs—34.1 percent.

The industrial enterprises of the construction industry and the construction materials industry failed to fulfill their plans. The enterprises' own production base developed poorly. With a limit of state capital investments of 50.2 million rubles for their own construction, only 39.5 million rubles were assimilated, including for projects of production designation—to the extent of 77.5 percent.

The quality of construction-installation work, construction materials, and designs is an unacceptably low level. Investment control over the projects being built was in actual fact not exercised by the design organizations. There was a significant decrease in the quality of design and prospecting work. As a result, additional expenditures in the amount of 2.9 million rubles for the elimination of defective products were produced.

Because of poor work organization, the automobile fleet in the construction organizations of the committee was used only to the extent of 65-70 percent.

Some 4.6 million rubles were spent for scientific research work and the introduction of new technology in the system of the Armenian SSR State Committee for Construction, but not a single new scientific-technical development for advanced methods of planning, resource- and energy-saving technology, or the creation of new materials, designs and highly-efficient machines and mechanism was introduced. Deviations from the production norms for the expenditure of materials were permitted, which led to an increase in production cost of more than 20 million rubles.

No effective measures are being taken in the industry to increase labor discipline. Still the turnover of workers is high, high losses of working time, idle time, and failure to show up for work remain, and the two-shift work system is not being secured.

By comparison with the preceding year, labor productivity was lowered by 10 percent, and the overexpenditure of wages reached about 8 million rubles. The calculated volumes of illegal expenditure, shortages and misappropriations of funds and material values came to more than 358,000 rubles.

The serious shortcomings in the activity of the Armenian SSR State Committee are also explained by the fact that the book-keeping and, on the whole, the economic work are conducted on a low professional level, as a result of which conditions are created for mismanagement and the embezzlement of state property, cover-up, and irresponsibility.

The construction organizations exceeded the production cost of construction and installation work by 38.2 million rubles compared to the plan.

The enterprises of the construction industry and the construction materials industry permitted a rise in prices amounting to 6.6 million rubles.

The profit plan was not fulfilled by the construction organizations and the industrial enterprises of the construction industry.

As a result of the irresponsibility of the managerial personnel of the committee, the construction organizations treated the losses of the unfoundedly effected money and material expenditures, the increase in the volumes of construction and installation work, the unreal debts, and other violations of financial discipline in the amount of more than 40 million rubles, illegally. Moreover, the guilty persons have not yet been held responsible.

Because of the non-fulfillment of plans, large embezzlements of material values and financial means, and gross violations of instructions and regulations, the shortages in internal working capital according to the balance sheet on 1 January 1989 came to 104.3 million rubles. In 10 of 34 trusts, there turned out to be non-liquid balances in the amount of 30.5 million rubles, and in 9 of 75 industrial enterprises—in the amount of 2.8 million rubles. The indebtedness of customers for work carried out came to 97.3 million rubles, but creditor [indebtedness]—136.2 million rubles.

All of this led to the fact that the construction organizations and industrial enterprises subordinated to the Armenian SSR State Committee systematically failed to fulfill the plan for payments into the budget and by the end of the year owed 18.0 million rubles in underpayments.

To improve the financial situation in 1988, the Armenian SSR State Committee was allotted 82.9 million rubles from the union budget, including 72.9 million rubles to make up the shortage in internal working capital and 10 million rubles to clear the overdue credit indebtedness in capital construction. However, even this measure did not turn out to have an important influence on the improvement of its financial situation.

On the whole, an abnormal situation took shape in the construction organizations of the committee, which proved to be an obstacle to the accelerated economic development and the solution of the tasks in regard to the provision of every family with an apartment and the satisfaction of the demands of people in the cultural, consumer, and other social spheres.

The decree that was adopted indicates ways of eliminating the shortcomings that have accumulated in the activity of the committee. The management of the State Committee was instructed to secure the animation of the work in the construction organizations, the unconditional fulfillment of the plans for construction and introduction of projects and production capacities. Instructions were given to pay special attention to the cases of gross violations of financial-economic discipline

and the absence of a proper procedure in the safe keeping of state property, to call to account the persons who are directly guilty of permitting and writing off as losses the monetary and material expenditures effected without foundation as the result of increasing the volumes of construction-installation work and other negative operations. To this end, the Armenian SSR Ministry of Finance was instructed to create a commission to expose and institute proceedings against the people guilty of permitting the unfounded writing off of monetary and material expenditures, to conduct an audit, to bring the balance sheet into a normal state, and to hand over the dossiers on the guilty to the organs of investigation.

ArSSR: Kirovakan Chemical Plant Post-Earthquake Production Plans

*90US0095a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
30 Sep 89 p 1*

[Armenpress report: "Products Abolished"]

[Text] By a joint resolution, the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR and the board of the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production abolished a number of products of the Kirovakan chemical plant and renamed it the Kirovakan Rubin plant.

According to the finding of an interdepartmental scientific-technical expert commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, the zones of two active tectonic faults intersect an area of the plant, located in the center of the city project, and, in this connection, the operation of shops that process toxic chemical products is not recommended under these conditions. The production of ammonia, carbamide, melamine, cyanuric acid, and melamine (cyanurate) has been stopped.

The staff of the former plant, with a work force of up to 1,400 persons, will continue to produce synthetic corundums, special crystals, and amides of cyanuric acid with the necessary subsidiary shops and services, with the prospect of future development of products.

The Rubin plant will retain the I pay scale for managers, engineering-technical workers, and office employees.

Work arrangements and the resolution of other social questions for workers who were released as a result of the removal of harmful products from the plant's product line have been entrusted to the ispolkom of the Kirovakan gorsovet, the state committee of the Armenian SSR on labor and social questions, and the Rubin plant.

Instructions have been issued to provide for the allocation of capital investments to the Rubin plant for participation in housing construction for the purpose of assuring housing for the workers who were on a waiting list as of 1 January 1989.

The main administration for capital construction of the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production was tasked to develop, within a 2-month period, a new

general plan for the Rubin plant in coordination with Goskomarkhitektura [State Committee for Architecture and Town Planning] at Gosstroy [State Construction Committee] of the Armenian SSR and the Ministry of Health of the Armenian SSR, taking into account a compact siting of production and services, a promising development and rational use of territory, and the assurance of sanitary-hygienic requirements.

The government of the republic and the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production has asked the USSR Council of Ministers for permission to credit workers engaged in production that was abolished at the Kirovakan plant with a period of work up to December 31, 1990 for length of service, giving them the right to a pension on preferential terms and at preferential rates.

Officials Scored for Failure to Ensure Republic Fuel Reserves

90US0095b Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
1 Oct 89 p 2

[Armenpress report: "Serious Shortcomings in the Work of the Armnefteprodukt PTO in Supplying the Republic with Motor Fuel"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR examined the question of serious shortages in the provision of motor fuel for the republic. It was noted in an adopted decree that, as a result of errors committed by the management of the Armnefteprodukt production-trade association (Comrade K.A. Vartanyan) in establishing fuel reserves for the summer and autumn periods, and also because of stoppages in the work of rail transport in the republic, an extremely difficult situation has developed because of a lack of gasoline and diesel fuel, and that the rates of work have been sharply slowed down in all branches of the national economy.

The storage tanks of the republic, which provide a reserve for 35 days, were filled to a capacity of only 57 percent on 1 July 1989. While having low fuel reserves, Comrade K.A. Vartanyan did not use the time in June to replenish them.

The low level of oil product reserves and serious interruption in the delivery of shipments on the Azerbaijan Railroad in July, August, and September have led to a total depletion of motor fuel at oil tank farms and consumer facilities, as a result of which agricultural operations have virtually been suspended, plans for construction in the earthquake area have been disrupted, and the pace of work in industrial enterprises has been interrupted.

The absence of gasoline at gas service stations has aroused the sharp displeasure of the population.

The question of increasing the reserve of oil products was raised by the Armnefteprodukt trade-production association in a conference with Yu.Ye. Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR

Council of Ministers; however, it was not decided positively, because the problem had not been studied thoroughly, and because there was a lack of a well-thought out and reasoned program for the stable supply of the republic with oil products.

The Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR made it incumbent upon the Armnefteprodukt production-trade association to adopt urgent measures in the execution of established plans for the delivery of motor fuel. Competent representatives have been dispatched to tanker stations of various regions for an immediate resolution of oil product deliveries. Measures have been undertaken to strengthen the PTO [Production-Technical Department] of Armnefteprodukt with competent and highly qualified specialists. The question of the immediate resolution of the smooth functioning of deliveries of oil products to Armenia was placed before union organs and the USSR Ministry of Railways.

It was acknowledged that the paramount task of the Armnefteprodukt production-trade association and the Yerevan division of the Transcaucasus Railroad was the replenishment of all storage tanks in the republic with motor fuel.

The attention of Yu.Ye. Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, was directed to the errors committed in the work of the Armnefteprodukt PTO, and to the lack of a manager in the association for a long time, which, along with other reasons, has led to serious complications in the national economy.

The government of the republic has asked USSR Gosnab to increase the reserve norms for oil storage facilities of the Armnefteprodukt PTO to 70,000 tons and diesel fuel to 35,000 tons, with replenishments of tanks in October of this year.

The Ministry of Finance of the Armenian SSR (Comrade Dzh. A. Dzhanoyan) was instructed to examine, within a week, the working assets accounts of Armnefteprodukt PTO for increasing the reserves of motor fuel in the oil tank farms of the association and to submit recommendations to the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

By a decree of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, the duties of the general director of the Armnefteprodukt production-trade association were assigned to Boris Yakovlevich Gleb.

Rovno Oblast Gets New First Secretary

18001629a Kiev *PRAVDA UKRAINY* in Russian
30 Aug 89 p 1

[RATAU report: Rovno Obkom Plenum]

[Text] Yesterday, August 29, a plenum of the Rovno Ukrainian CP Obkom was held to examine the organizational questions of electing an oblast party committee first secretary.

The day before, in accordance with a proposal from the obkom bureau, expanded sessions of raykom and gorkom bureaus and meetings of the party economic aktiv took place, at which possible candidates to the position of obkom first secretary were discussed. More than ten party and soviet workers and economic administrators were named. The Obkom Commission on Questions of Organizational Party and Personnel Work weighed all of the opinions and proposals that were put forth. The comments and wishes of communists and non-party individuals, expressed in letters and spoken addresses, were considered as well.

Three of the proposed candidates—V. I. Lutsenko, obkom second secretary; P. K. Prishchepa, oblispolkom chairman; and N. P. Tkachuk, obkom secretary—were then examined at the obkom plenum. They all presented concrete programs, basing their approaches on solving the problems of reconstruction, organizational and ideological work, and the oblast's socio-economic development, and answered questions from the plenum participants. In the process of discussing their candidacy, a series of comments and proposals were addressed to them. A principled, businesslike conversation took place about the urgent problems the obkom and its bureau and secretariat will have to solve.

As the result of alternative votes by secret ballot, P. K. Prishchepa was elected first secretary of the Rovno Oblast Party Committee.

V. A. Ivashko, politburo member and Ukrainian CP second secretary, addressed and participated in the work of the plenum.

New Uzbek First Deputy Council of Ministers Chairman Appointed

18300789a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 16 Aug 89 p 1

[Decree of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the Appointment of Comrade D.D. Berkov as First Deputy Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, issued 15 August 1989]

[Text] The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves to appoint Comrade Dmitriy Dmitriyevich Berkov the first deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers.

Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium M. Ibragimov

Secretary of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium L. Bekkulbekova

Dmitriy Dmitriyevich Berkov

D.D. Berkov was born in 1939, is Russian, and has been a CPSU member since 1965. He has a higher education and graduated from Tashkent Institute Agricultural Irrigation and Mechanization Engineers in 1961. He is a hydrotechnical engineer.

He started working in 1961 as supervisor of a construction and repair section in the "Stavropolstroy" Administration, and later worked in the same organization as section chief, chief engineer, and chief of the mobile mechanized column. He was nominated for party work in 1973: he has been an instructor and a deputy department chief of the CPSU Stavropolskiy Kraykom. He was elected chairman of the Stavropol Gorispolkom.

He worked as an instructor for the CPSU Central Committee Department of the Agriculture and Food Industry from 1978 to 1985. In 1985, he was elected second secretary of the Kara-Kalpak Party Obkom. Since August 1988, he has been secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee. He is a member of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro and a deputy of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

Reasons for Removal of Uzbek CP Second Secretary Explained

18300789b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 3 Aug 89 p 3

[Report by correspondent Vil. Niyazmatov: "A So-And-So is Released. Notes From the Uzbek CP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The 15th Plenum of the republic Communist Party Central Committee was held in Tashkent on 29 July. One question—organizational—was on the agenda. According to an unwritten rule, which became almost ritual in the stagnant years, such meetings were held very efficiently and lasted an hour at most. As is the custom, the person presiding reported that a nomenclature so-and-so is being released from a certain post. In this regard, even if the so-and-so had not coped or, for instance, had committed an unworthy deed, the plenum participants were presented with streamlined, textbook phrases: "...in connection with transfer to another job," "according to this statement," "due to state of health," and so on. Nobody in the presidium was embarrassed that those sitting in the hall were quite familiar with the true reasons for releasing so-and-so from the post and that, in this manner, the public of the republic was misled once again. And really, not only of the republic...

Many times, I have witnessed how the participants in party plenums went away dispirited by such situations. More than a few times, I tried to enter into confidential talks on this subject with certain members of elected party bodies, people, it should be noted, who are not cowards, well-known in the republic for their principledness. I would like to know why they submissively voted for a proposal, for a phrase not conforming to the truth, and how come they did not take the floor and expose this obvious, well-directed farce? To which, in general, stereotypical justifications followed: they did not want, they said, to be a white crow, since the matter was decided for us earlier, without us, by a narrow leading circle; to this day there has been no precedent, in

which a central committee buro decision on one candidacy or another was changed.

In order to substantiate myself, let me cite the following alleged facts. So, I. Usmankhodzhayev, Uzbek CP Central Committee first secretary, N. Khudayberdiyev, republic Council of Ministers chairman, Kh. Umarov, Fergan Party Obkom first secretary, and B. Rakhimov, deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, were released from their posts with the phrase "in connection with retirement." R. Abdullayeva and Ye. Aytmuratov, Uzbek CP Central Committee secretaries, A. Karimov, Bukhara Party Obkom first secretary, K. Kamalov, Kara-Kalpak Party Obkom first secretary, and N. Turapov, Kashka-Darya Party Obkom first secretary, were released with the note in their records: "in connection with transfer to another job." M. Musakhanov, Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro member and Tashkent Party Obkom first secretary, left his position with the phrase: "in connection with retirement."

The list of nomenclature officials who involuntarily left comfortable official offices could continue. However, this is not the point. Nor is it the point that all the above-named persons, without exception, were arrested later and are currently under investigation.

The main point lies elsewhere. Distorted, misleading information about the reasons why one or another official has left a leading post has essentially demoralized hundreds and hundreds of other nomenclature employees, deeply certain that if such should happen to them, kind protectors would mandatorily turn up and release them while the going is good with the cherished, streamline phrase or, better yet, help them transfer to another, albeit more modest, but still nomenclature chair. Yet this, so to speak, is a minor misfortune.

The real problem lies in the fact that such "artistry," like rust, has corroded the consciousness of the people above all, undermining their faith in social justice and sowing mistrust in soviet power and, finally, in the party itself.

This has happened many times in Uzbekistan, until last Saturday, when the CP Central Committee members and candidate members met at their regular plenum. I repeat, there was one matter on the agenda—organizational. The following eloquently attested to the fact that the plenum participants, by force of habit, had expected a brief meeting: almost everyone who came from the oblasts had purchased airline tickets for early flights on the same day. Later, however, workers in the CP Central Committee Administration of Affairs and the Civil Aviation Administration had to rapidly re-book the tickets of several dozen plenum participants.

A number of items were presented for the attention of the central committee plenum participants, particularly on the work of the Central Committee commission for the investigation of circumstances related to the events in Fergan Oblast. However, the plenum was prolonged because of the main issue: organization.

The presiding I.A. Karimov, Uzbek CP Central Committee first secretary, reported to those attending that Central Committee Second Secretary V.P. Anishchev is being recalled on instructions from the center and has left the decision to release him from his post to a vote. Just a second, it seemed, and the central committee members, as before, would agreeably raise their hands in consent. However, to everyone's surprise, one of them suddenly asked for the floor: P.K. Nugmanov, minister of repair and special construction work and a deputy of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet. After objecting to the streamlined phrase, he directed attention to the fact that the central committee second secretary is much to blame for serious shortcomings in cadre work in the republic and for the generally unhealthy moral and psychological climate in Uzbekistan, and that therefore the matter of releasing him from his post should be considered in this context.

This speech, like a bolt from the blue, essentially set the tone for all the subsequent work by the plenum. Of more than 20 speakers that day, almost everyone basically touched on the activities of Vladimir Petrovich Anishchev in the office of second secretary, cited specific facts that did not characterize the matters handled by him in the best light, spoke of hasty conclusions that he had made in considering the republic's socioeconomic problems, as well as in cadre work and in appointments. In short, serious claims were made against him.

Taking into account that V.P. Anishchev was absent from the meeting, the central committee plenum, after consenting to his release from the duties of buro member and second secretary, decided not to remove him from the party register in the republic party organization for the time being, but to make an appropriate decision after hearing his report at a regular plenum on the work he did in this responsible post. The decision will then be submitted to the CPSU Central Committee in the usual procedure.

A.S. Yefimov, who was sent to the republic as a reinforcement from the Leningrad party organization and first worked as the Navoi Party Obkom first secretary, then as chairman of the Uzbek SSR People's Control Committee, was elected second secretary and buro member of the Uzbek CP Central Committee by the plenum.

Legal Official Summarizes Uzbek SSR Draft Law Proposals

90US0062A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
7 Sep 89 p 3

[Article by A. Kh. Alimdzhonov, chief of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretariat, candidate of legal sciences: "In the Interests of Developing Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] The press has published the drafts of laws governing amendment and additions to the Uzbek SSR Constitution (Basic Law) and the election of deputies to

the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets. Having been presented for public discussion, they are evoking a very lively response from the republic's workers. For more than a month there will be a thorough discussion on the pages of the press, on radio and television, and in labor collectives and public organizations.

An item that is on the agenda today is the reform of our political system, the basic ideas of which were born at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Structural and other profound changes have occurred in the upper echelon of the country's state authority: there have been elections of USSR people's deputies; there has been the first Congress of People's Deputies, which elected the USSR Supreme Soviet and the chairmen of its houses. At a session of the Supreme Soviet, the country's government, committees, and standing commissions were formed, and laws and other documents dealing with various questions of our country's state life were passed.

The restructuring of the political system in our country cannot be begun without changing a number of principles in the Uzbek SSR Constitution that is in effect, or without reorganizing the current practice of holding elections to the soviets.

Therefore the legislative drafts that have been brought up for public discussion are aimed at changing not all the principles stated in the currently effective Constitution, but only those that pertain primarily to the organization and activity of the agencies of state authority and administration, as well as the reform of the legal agencies. For the time being, other principles in the Constitution that regulate such aspects of our society's life as the economic system, law, the citizens' freedoms and duties, interethnic relations, etc. are not affected. The very practice of perestroika will suggest ways to resolve other ones. As everyone knows, the restructuring process itself is a prolonged one. The improvement of constitutional legislation will take more than just a single day. It is a complicated, objectively influenced process that, in the final analysis, must reflect the social relations that have developed in our republic and in the country as a whole.

What fundamentally new principles are being recommended for inclusion in the Uzbek SSR Constitution right now? In the center of the reform of the political system is the restructuring of the work of the soviets of people's deputies. We have in mind the change in the procedure of forming and organizing the activity of the soviets.

A new definition is being made for the functions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, which will consist of 500 deputies. It must be a legislative, directive, and monitoring agency of state authority.

The Supreme Soviet, in our representative system, acts as the republic's highest agency of state authority. It has the right to accept for consideration and decision any questions that falls within the purview of Uzbek SSR. It is proposed that it be given the exclusive responsibility

for resolving the most important constitutional questions and for approving long-range state plans and very important problems for the republic's economic and social development. Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet will elect the Chairman and the first Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and the Constitutional Oversight Committee.

An important new principle is the principle concerning the incompatibility of the status of people's deputy and the occupying of a definite position. The point is that persons who are members of Uzbek SSR, Council of Ministers, Karakalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, executive committees of local soviets, with the exception of the chairmen of those agencies; administrators and deputy administrators of departments, divisions, and administrators, and executive committees; and judges and state arbiters cannot be simultaneously deputies to the soviet by which they are appointed or elected. The introduction of this principle is a necessary condition for the strict and consistent division of the functions and responsibility between the state agencies and the executive and court authorities, and this is the keystone in establishing a socialist law-governed state. Something else that is fundamentally important is the stipulated principle to the effect that a citizen cannot be simultaneously a deputy to more than two soviets of people's deputies.

In order to assure the better guaranteeing of the unity of the system of the representative agencies, a term of office that is common to all of them is being established—five year. A substantial condition that is aimed at establishing legal guarantees against any possible abuses of power or any excessive concentration of power in the hands of various individuals is the proposed limitation of the possibility for officials who are elected or appointed by the soviets of people's deputies to occupy their positions for more than two consecutive terms.

A fundamentally new step is the intensification of the legislative work of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet. This will put an end to the situation which social relations are regulated chiefly by Ukases of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, by governmental decrees, and departmental instructional guides, while the laws, as acts of the representative higher agency of authority, occupy an extremely limited place in the entire legislative activity.

The chief task that is linked with the formation of a law-governed state is confirming in society the dominance of the laws that guarantee the harmonious combination of democracy and order, and the citizens' rights and duties. This presupposes the expansion of the sphere of social relations that are regulated directly by the republic's laws. The number of laws will increase. At such time the laws, as is proper in a democratic society, will be developed by comparing various concepts, positions, and opinions, publicly, openly, after broad and complete discussion.

The draft of the Law Governing Amendments and Additions to the Uzbek SSR Constitution contains direct guarantees for specifically these principles of legislative work. It defines the broad competency of the republic's Supreme Soviet in the sphere of legislation, and establishes that it guarantees the unity of legislative regulation on the entire territory of Uzbek SSR and establishes the foundations of legislation. The Supreme Soviet will carry out the legislative regulation of the relations of ownership; the organizing of the administration of the national economy and sociocultural construction; the budget and finance system; the payment of labor and price determination; the protection of the environment and the use of natural resources; the carrying out of the citizen's constitutional rights, freedoms, and duties; and other relations whose regulation falls within the jurisdiction of Uzbek SSR.

The Supreme Soviet is not only a legislative agency of state authority, but also a directive and monitoring one. The directive functions of the Supreme Soviet will manifest themselves primarily in its making of decisions with regard to problems of planning the republic's economic and social development, the directing of the activities of the agencies of authority and administration, and, as applicable to the decision of the most important cadre questions, in appointing the Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, Uzbek SSR Chief State Arbiter, and a number of other officials.

The monitoring powers of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet are also rather specific. It is granted the right to listen regularly to oral reports from the agencies formed or elected by it, as well as from the officials appointed by it, and to change the decrees and orders of Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers in the event that they do not conform to the law.

The draft of the Law Governing Amendments and Additions to the Uzbek SSR Constitution stipulates substantial changes in organizing the work of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet. It is proposed that it will meet for its regularly scheduled sessions no less frequently than three times a year. The Supreme Soviet session will consist of sessions of the Supreme Soviet, as well as the sessions of the standing and other commissions of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet that are conducted during the period between them.

This procedure for the activities of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, of course, is not an end in itself, but, rather, an objective necessity. The new status of the Supreme Soviet, the considerable expansion of its competency, and the combination in it of the daily legislative, directive, and monitoring work—all these things are influenced by the need for changes. It must be noted that the Supreme Soviet, in essence, is being changed into a constantly operating agency. The deputies will study important state matters and discuss them not only at the plenary sessions of the the Supreme Soviet, but also in the standing commissions.

The entity that must become the organizing center of the republic's highest agency of state authority is the Presidium of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet—an agency that is reportable to the Supreme Soviet and that has been called upon to guarantee the effective work both of the Supreme Soviet and its commissions. As compared with the Presidium that is currently in effect, this is a new agency if only because all the legislative functions and the decision of cadre questions are being transferred from the previous Presidium to the Supreme Soviet. The new Presidium will convoke the sessions of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, organize the preparation of the sessions, coordinate the activities of the standing commissions, assist the deputies to the Supreme Soviet in carrying out their powers, and also resolve certain other questions. For example, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, in the interests of defending the USSR and the security of its citizens, takes part in the review by the Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet of questions involving the declaration on the republic's territory of a state of war or an emergency situation. It will be entrusted with the fulfillment also of certain so-called "presidential" powers (citizenship, awards, pardons, appointment and recall of diplomatic representatives, etc.).

The Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet is conceived as an agency which is not elected, but made up. Its makeup will include the following persons, ex officio: Chairman of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet; First Deputy Chairman and Deputy Chairman—Chairman of the Karakalpak ASSR Supreme Soviet; chairman of the republic's People's Control Committee; and chairmen of the standing commissions of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet. The position of Presidium secretary is not stipulated. The presidium of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet is headed by the Chairman of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet. He will carry out the overall management of the work of the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, sign Uzbek SSR laws and other acts, and resolve a number of key questions. The Chairman reports to the Supreme Soviet concerning the state of affairs in the republic and other important questions, nominates to the Supreme Soviet persons for appointment or election, conducts negotiations, and signs international treaties of Uzbek SSR.

Presidiums are also created in the local soviets of people's deputies. Thus, the work of the oblast, rayon, city, and city-rayon soviets of people's deputies is organized by presidiums headed by soviet chairmen, or, in settlement and kishlak [village] soviets, by the chairmen of those soviets. The presidiums and chairmen of the local soviets will engage in organizing the work of the soviets of deputies, without taking the place in any way of the executive committees of the soviets.

There will be a substantial increase in the role of the standing commissions. Much that is new is being introduced into their organization and activities. It is planned to expand the powers of the standing commissions both with regard to the work of preparing legislative drafts, and in resolving national-economic, interethnic, cadre,

and other tasks. For example, the election and appointment of officials to make up the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, People's Control Committee, the republic's Supreme Court, and a number of other officials will be carried out only on the basis of findings by the appropriate standing commissions of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

An agency that will be a fundamentally new one and that will be part of the structure of the highest agencies of the republic's authority is the Constitutional Oversight Committee, which is to be elected by the Supreme Soviet for a ten-year term. Its chief purpose consists in guaranteeing the consistent carrying out, in the activities of all the state agencies and public organizations, of the norms in the Uzbek SSR Constitution. This task influences the makeup of the committee (it will include specialists in the field of politics and laws), and also its powers, for example, to send its findings to an agency that issued a legal act in violation of the USSR Constitution and the Uzbek SSR Constitution or of USSR or republic laws, thus stopping the execution of that legal act.

Certain changes also pertain to Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, which is the highest executive and directive agency of the authority of Uzbek SSR. The draft states that the Council of Ministers is responsible to Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and is reportable to it.

The confirmation of the dominance of law in the republic's life necessitates the improvement of the activities of the agencies of justice. A large democratic potential has been placed in justice, and revealing that potential is the task of the legal reform. The most important thing is to achieve the substantial reinforcement of the court's authority and independence, to change the mechanism of forming legal agencies, and to expand the guarantees of the independence and inviolability of the judges. Courts at all levels will be elected for a ten-year term. This will provide greater stability for the legal agencies. Without a doubt, a law that will be of substantial importance for increasing the judges' authority will be the law governing the statutes of judges in the USSR, the work on which is being carried out at the present time.

The drafts of the laws governing the elections of deputies to Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of people's deputies evoked a large amount of interest among the public. Those drafts firmly establish a number of new principles that are aimed at reinforcing the democratic foundations of the preparation and conducting of elections. The planned measures are aimed at replacing the outmoded directive methods in selecting candidates for election as deputies and at intensifying all forms of competitiveness among the candidates, thus allowing the voters consciously and responsibly to determine who will be their representative in the agencies of state authority.

Legal guarantees are being established for changing over to the methods and mechanisms for organizing an election, which are intended to assure the open, public

procedure for resolving all organizational questions linked with the nomination of candidates, their registration, the conducting of the voting, and the determination of the election results. They will help to a greater degree to take into consideration the person's ability to express and represent the interests of society and the persons who have elected him, to strive constantly to satisfy their rights and legal interests, and to fulfill his state duties at a high level.

The drafts governing elections take into consideration the experience and lessons of the spring 1989 election campaigns, as well as the recommendations with regard to questions of improving the electoral system that are contained in statements made at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, as well as in the materials published by the mass media. It is well known that in many of them individual principles of the USSR Constitution and the Law Governing the Election of USSR People's Deputies were subjected to well-substantiated criticism. Proceeding from this fact, the drafts do not reproduce literally the principles in the union law, but are proposed to a creative reinterpretation; in them, yet another new step is taken along the path of the further democratization of the electoral process.

Taking into consideration the fact that the principle in the USSR Election Law that one-third of the people's deputies are to be elected from public organizations caused considerable discussions both in the course of the election and at the Congress of People's Deputies, it is proposed that elections to the Uzbek SSR Soviets of People's Deputies at all levels, including elections to the republic's highest agency of state authority, be carried out only by electoral districts.

This decision is influenced by the fact that it makes it possible to reject the multilevel nature of the election, a procedure when individual groups of citizens have the opportunity to participate many times in the voting. It contributes to the confirmation of the absolutely fundamental principle in the Soviet electoral system: one person, one vote.

The conducting of elections by electoral districts also creates equal conditions for all the candidates participating in the pre-election struggle, and precludes situations that are inadmissible from the point of view of electoral democracy, such as situations when, in certain instances, tens of thousands of votes are needed to elect a deputy, and in others, all it takes is several hundreds, or even a few dozen, votes by the voters.

Another circumstance that speaks in favor of rejecting the election of deputies to the highest agency of state authority directly by public organizations is the fact that the legal status of many of them has not yet been defined, as a result of which they can be included among the republic's public organizations only by stretching the point considerably.

An important innovation in the draft of the Law Governing Elections to Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet is the

establishment of an age qualification for deputies to the republic's Supreme Soviet—the person must be at least 21 years of age. It is erroneous to assume that this measure is directed at eliminating the representatives of the younger generation from participating in state affairs. This necessity was dictated by a consideration of the fact that the persons who are working in the Supreme agency must have already graduated from the school of public work, and must have accumulated practical experience. As for the local soviets, any citizen of the republic who has reached the age of 18 years can be elected deputy.

A new method is also proposed for the procedure of nominating candidates for election as deputies. It is authorized for every labor collective consisting of no less than 200 workers to nominate its candidate for election as deputy to Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, or for a collective consisting of no less than 100 persons to nominate its candidate election to oblast soviets or the Tashkent City Soviet of people's deputies. Small-sized labor collectives situations on the territory of a single district can conduct a meeting to nominate candidates for election as deputies at a joint meeting (conference). The proposed new approach places under equal conditions the labor collectives and meetings of voters and will not infringe upon their interests.

The drafts grant for the first time the right to nominate candidates for election as deputies to branches and other subdivisions of enterprises and organizations and to meetings of teachers and employees jointly with school-children and students at higher and secondary special educational institutions.

For the first time, the republic drafts stipulate the right of nominating candidates for election as deputies also to meetings of voters at their place of residence. These meetings are convoked by the soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums jointly with the district electoral commission. The meetings to nominate candidates for election to Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet are valid if no fewer than 300 voters are present at them, and meetings to nominate candidates for election to the local soviets, if the number of persons participating in them is no less than the number established by the appropriate soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums jointly with the territorial electoral commissions as being the number of voters residing on the territory of the district.

At the meetings, all the conditions are created for the unlimited nomination of candidates. Moreover, it is specifically the nomination of several candidacies for one opening that will be the predominant practice. Every participant at the meeting has the right to make proposals concerning the candidates for election as deputy, to participate in discussing them, to support the proposed candidacies, or to make recommendations to reject them. He can also propose for discussion as a candidate for election as deputy his own candidacy—this is another new feature in our electoral practice. The draft stipulates that, irrespective of the number of candidacies

that are discussed, the meeting can nominate only one candidate for election as deputy.

The purpose of the electoral campaign is to reduce to the minimum—or, if possible, to preclude—the possibility that power will fall into the hands of persons who are unworthy. It is, of course, no easy matter to do this, but it is necessary. One of the guarantees of this—the possibility of electing the best candidate from among many—is included in the draft versions of the laws. In order to guarantee the registration and inclusion in the ballot of the most worthy candidates, it is planned to have a preliminary discussion of them at conferences of representatives of the district voters. It is envisioned that all the candidates nominated in the district will be considered at the conference. The conference will listen to all the candidates, will discuss them, and by means of the vote will decide whose name to submit for registration. The drafts stipulate a more democratic procedure for delegating to those conferences the representatives of citizen meetings.

In the most recent election to the local soviets in June 1987, in 13 rayons in the republic on an experimental basis the election of deputies was carried out by multimandate districts. One of the basic tasks that was posed for the system of multimandate election was the guaranteeing of the alternative nature of the election. But now, under the present conditions of increased political participation by the public, and proceeding from the experience of the election of USSR people's deputies, the application of the multimandate system, to a definite degree, no longer makes sense. Therefore, it is proposed in the draft that the election to local soviets also be conducted by single-mandate districts.

For purposes of forming a more competent and more mobile deputy corps and increasing the authority of the people's deputies, it is also proposed to reduce somewhat the number of deputies elected to all the local soviets in the republic.

A situation of fundamental importance is the fact that the tallying of the votes when determining the election results will be carried out on the basis of the number of persons participating in the voting, rather than in accordance with the total number of voters in the district who are included in the voter lists, as was the situation previously. This is the worldwide practice. It will enable us to get rid of the posturing and formalism which, unfortunately, used to occur under the old electoral system.

For the first time in our election legislation, provision is made for the institution of proxies. A candidate for election as deputy to the Supreme Soviet is granted the right to have as many as five proxies, and a candidate for election to local soviets, as many as three. The candidate for election as deputy designates his proxies by himself.

They help him to conduct the election campaign, conduct agitation for him, and represent his interests in interrelationships with state and public agencies, the voters, and commissions.

In order to conduct the election of deputies to the Supreme Soviet and to local soviets, electoral commissions are formed, and their duties are being expanded. Among them, the leading place is occupied by the Central Electoral Commission for Electing Deputies to Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, which is to be formed by the republic's Supreme Soviet. Representatives to make up the commission are nominated by meetings (conferences) of labor collectives, by republic, oblast, city, and rayon agencies of public organizations, by meetings of teachers and schoolchildren and students, and of voters at their place of residence and of military personnel. It is envisioned that the commission will operate constantly—its term of office is five years.

An important question that is touched upon in the draft versions of the election laws is the guaranteeing of the activities of the candidates for election as deputies. It is stipulated, in particular, that, as of the moment of their registration as candidates for election as deputy, they have equal rights to speak at pre-election and other meetings, conferences, sessions, and in the press and over television and radio. A candidate for election as deputy can discuss the program of his future activities. Naturally, the program of the candidate for election as deputy must not contradict in any way the Constitutions of the USSR or Uzbek SSR or the laws, and, just as naturally, candidates will be rebuffed if they attempt to speak from anti-Soviet or, for example, nationalistic positions. The drafts concerning the responsibility for violating the election legislation have been substantially augmented by the statement that persons are brought to responsibility if they have published or have disseminated by any other means false information that discredits the honor and dignity of the candidates for election as deputy, or if they have taken an offensive attitude toward the members of the electoral commissions.

If the draft versions of the law concerning amendments and additions to the Uzbek SSR Constitution and the election law which have been submitted for public discussion are evaluated from the political point of view—and it is only from this point of view that they should primarily be viewed—then they presuppose an extremely complicated, difficult job in assimilating the principles of socialist democratism. That job will be linked with the competition among the candidates, with the new organization of the pre-election agitation, with new organizational forms, and with the new content of the activities of the highest and local agencies of state authority.

All the proposals and comments that are coming in during the course of the public discussion of the drafts of the laws will be considered by the Legislative Proposals Commission of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet. That commission will prepare the appropriate findings. The discussion materials and the proposals and comments with regard to the drafts of the laws will be submitted to the Presidium of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet prior to 10 October 1989.

Thereupon, the 11th Session of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet will consider the findings of the standing commission and of the deputies, and with a consideration of the corrections, by means of a vote, will adopt the appropriate laws.

Thus, the workers of Uzbekistan will approach yet another important event in the republic's sociopolitical life—the election to the soviets of people's deputies. It is planned to conduct the election in February 1990 simultaneously to all soviets—from the Supreme Soviet to the kishlak and settlement soviets. There will be a consistent increase in the role and authority of the soviets, and the forms of the workers' democratic participation will multiply. The new experience, the new factors in state construction, naturally will also pose new problems that are linked with improving the Constitution and the republic's other laws, which will serve perestroyka and the processes of the renovation of our society.

Estonia's Savisaar On Economic Autonomy and National Relations

*18001631 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 16 Aug 89 pp 1,2*

[Speech by E. Savisaar, deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, Broadcast on Estonian Television: "Let's Begin a Dialogue"]

[Text] Permit me to devote this first televised address in my new role as a member of the government to an extremely important problem for the republic, not just in economic but also political terms: that is, its transition to cost accounting. I am convinced that the successful implementation of this reform holds the key to genuine democratic integration for Estonia's peoples and all its residents. Now evidently, it has become clear to all that IME [Self-Managing Estonia] will become an actual fact. This is to many people's liking, insofar as they see it as a real way out of the crisis facing our society. Needless to say, some do not like this approach. However, whether we want to or not, whether we like it or not, we must all work to put this idea into practice.

Recent discussions in commissions and committees of the Union Supreme Soviet, and even the course of the Supreme Soviet session itself, showed that Moscow is already beginning to understand us. Recent controversial questions have been resolved, and critics of IME have become a voice crying in the wilderness. A union normative act, defining the new character of Estonia's economic relations with the center and with other republics and regions, has been adopted. This act's adoption showed the actual balance of forces in the federal parliament, when the overwhelming majority of deputies voted for the first radical resolution.

However, in and of itself this resolution of the Union Supreme Soviet session has yet to change anything in our life. Now we must bring our active efforts to bear. After all, Moscow won't solve our problems for us. But it did open a door for us—a door onto a path which we ourselves must follow. Much now depends on our own economic initiative, and for this we need ask no one's permission.

It is possible that up to now we have presented the idea of IME in too "Estonia-centric" a manner. In fact, its significance is broader. And this significance is already beginning to be comprehended beyond the borders of Estonia—a fact that will once and for all free it from the Estonian native costume. Republic cost accounting is finally being seen as an alternative to command methods in the economy and to the diktat of central agencies. It is viewed as holding possibilities for a just exchange and a balanced distribution of labor, for example between Armenians and Estonians, and between Cossacks and Russians. Striking miners in the Kuznets Basin have supported the slogan of regional cost accounting. All of this attests to the fact that IME is not the result of abstract meditation but is a problem of our economy posed by life itself.

I would like to dwell in particular on the possibility that IME will become a real, effective mechanism for uniting the residents of our republic. I want to state with all decisiveness that, without the socialist world, and without the unity of all the republic's residents, none of us will have a secure future. Fearing for the fate of the small-numbered Estonian people, I see no possibility for ensuring its development other than on the basis of equality, partnership, and mutual respect for other peoples. Stirring up people, and even more so, nationalities, against one another is contrary to the interests of democratic restructuring in the Soviet Union, to the success of which, after all, we are linking the prosperity of the Estonian people.

IME may actually unite the interests of everyone living in Estonia because it changes the usual vector of economic development. Now it will be based on actual opportunities and requirements in the republic and will proceed from them, rather than from arbitrary tasks imposed by the center, and for the accomplishment of which there are neither local funds nor resources. In such a situation, there is no question of egotism or parochialism. After all, all of our neighbors will be relying on their own forces and defending their own interests. Only in this way will mutual exchange among us be adequately motivated by economic factors.

Frequently the opinion is expressed that IME is unilaterally oriented toward the interests of the Estonian population, which is employed to a greater extent in branches working to meet the republic's needs. There are fears that structural changes in industry will strike more heavily on the Russian-speaking population, which is primarily employed at enterprises under union affiliation. It is naive to think that the transition period will be a light workout for one part of the population and a heavy burden for another. Things are already difficult enough for both Estonians and Russians. The future will also be difficult. Obviously, the transition period will be especially difficult for enterprises that are poorly outfitted with equipment and, most importantly, that operate on the basis of the plan, rather than on meeting actual market needs. We have a good many of these enterprises, as does the rest of the country. They are also found among enterprises of union and republic affiliation. It is naive to think that IME orients the republic's entire economy only on satisfying our own needs. After all, we will need to produce enough output and output of such quality that, whether we sell it in the East or West, we will be able to obtain enough money to purchase the things we don't have. Therefore, many present enterprises under union affiliation, well-equipped and having a consumer will be organically incorporated into the structure of the republic's future economic complex, which will consist of independent, self-managing enterprises that operate on the basis of pluralism with respect to forms of property.

However, I will be honest: In order for our enterprises to be genuinely independent, they must first of all be removed from subordination to the major all-union

monopolies—the departments. All-union departments confiscate such a large share of enterprises' profit for the central budget that it not only does not allow the labor collectives to replenish funds, but in the literal sense of the word, doesn't allow them to catch their breath.

It is true, in large part, that newcomers are more heavily employed in production under difficult and dangerous working conditions, and in unskilled labor. But the reason for this lies not in the policy of union departments that have pushed the economy down a purely extensive path of development, and have economized on working conditions and the social sphere. The upshot is that it is precisely the central departments, and not Estonia, that have economized at the expense of the Russians they invited here to work. As a result of this activity not only the republic, but also people who have moved here have suffered. It must be understood: To leave everything as it has been at enterprises under union affiliation will mean the preservation of inhumane, insufferable working conditions as well. Would this be fair? Would the people themselves agree with such proposals?

Sometimes union enterprises fall short of republic enterprises with respect to wages as well. IME will enable us to bring operating conditions at all enterprises into line. This will also create conditions for the genuine elimination of economic and social differences existing today that frequently acquire an ethnic character under our conditions.

Fears also exist in connection with the forthcoming conversion of certain enterprises to different types of output. Won't this lead to unemployment, especially among the Russian-speaking population? Of course, the easiest thing would be to limit ourselves to optimistic assurances. The actual process obviously, will not be simple, if only because a good many people will need to change jobs, working conditions will change, as will skill requirements, etc. But I don't think we need to worry about unemployment. And not just because we are now experiencing a serious shortage of workers (in Tallin, approximately 8,000 jobs are unfilled), but also because the process of reconstruction will create a large number of new jobs, both in science-intensive production facilities, and in the service sphere. In light of the fact that we have together already begun to close the valve of the migration pump, we are left with the labor resources that we now have, and every pair of working hands is simply worth its weight in gold.

Estonia under cost accounting doesn't need cheap labor as some people assert, but a cultured, educated, skilled and stable Russian-speaking population. It seems to me that Russian technical thought in Estonia has everything it needs to join in a single flow with Estonian. Thus, for example we are doing a very poor job of utilizing the technical and intellectual potential of Narva for the republic's needs.

Perhaps it's for this reason that Narva technocrats, looking askance at science in Tallinn, prefer to set their sights on Leningrad.

Perhaps the time has come to begin a discussion on creating in Narva a technical policy similar to that for which a draft is being developed in Tartu? A technical policy at a level that would enable us to cook up both our own, as well as foreign ideas and developments. Then they could be disseminated throughout all Estonia.

I think the Russian-speaking population has an independent mission in regard to the peoples of the Union who are living in Estonia—a mission as cultural intermediaries between their peoples and the countries of Europe, a role which, on the strength of geographical position, was historically filled and continues to be filled by the Estonian people as well. The inclusion of a non-indigenous nationality in this role will create new interesting opportunities for bringing Slavic and other peoples of the Soviet Union into the European house. On the other hand, the Russian-speaking population could take upon itself the mission of good will to the east of the country. Who, better than you, can explain there that what is taking place in Estonia is indeed restructuring, just in a native costume.

Today we understand that the adaptation of the Russian-speaking population to living conditions in Estonia is a rather lengthy process, and not a solitary political or legal act. The legislation that we have begun to develop is intended merely to give direction to this process, and to create a system of mutual rights and duties, and guarantees of their observance, without which the existence of peoples in society is impossible. Restructuring, which has brought national renewal to life in Estonia, will enable us to change the general direction of interaction among nationalities. In the period of stagnation only Estonians had to adapt to the withering away of nations. Estonians were not supposed to protest against this. They got to learn Russian, and ultimately, were no worse for it. But we shouldn't make a virtue of necessity. A feeling of coercion grew and hardened in the people's conscience, and today it is difficult to keep them from expressing the accumulated offense. But let's look at this problem from a different angle. Does knowledge of the Estonian language really diminish a Russian? On the contrary, he will have social opportunities on an equal footing with the Estonian. Only social equality is a solid guarantee of political equality. It is especially important to say this today, when there are still so many different interpretations of the goal toward which we aspire. For any democratically oriented person, this goal can only be a civil society and a law-governed state. It is clear that such a state, in our view, can and must have definite guideposts in its nationality policy as well—obligations with respect to its own indigenous people, I would say. But this does not make it a nationalist state, much less a state of apartheid. Our goal is a society in which people's national and other social qualities are not destroyed, but serve as the basis for the mutual enrichment of individuals and peoples. We do not want to make Estonians out

of Russians but we are prepared to help them adapt to the Estonian milieu—this is our task. But in order to achieve this state, we must pass through a transitional period of adaptation. Today the central question of Estonia's domestic policy is the question of the program of social and cultural development for all the republic's nationalities and social groups and the program of their organic integration. I think that the development and discussion of such a state program, in and of itself, should turn into an important political action aimed at the genuine convergence of people of different nationalities.

The history of the Estonian people and the fate of Estonian land has been both bitter and difficult. Likely, this has had an impact on Estonians' national character. Yet despite everything, our people have not become embittered. We can be proud of the tradition of spiritual, political, and religious tolerance that has developed on our land and allowed representatives of various nationalities to live and work with dignity on it. The Estonian people are struggling for the freedom and independence of their country today. But this doesn't mean that they alone will achieve this. Freedom and independence will be gained by all.

It is quite clear to me that the social and economic interests of Russians in Estonia must have actual guarantees. These guarantees should include, first, the development of primary education on the best principles of the Russian and Estonian national schools. Second, the creation in northeastern Estonia of a modern polytechnical institute with a structure of professions that would ensure its graduates jobs in the republic. It makes sense as well to discuss the idea of creating an Estonian college in Narva or Tallinn with a program of focused training of Russian-speaking young people to prepare for admission to the republic's Estonian-language higher educational institutes, and to make it a one-year program for those who have finished the 11th grade. Third, the creation of new jobs to replace those being eliminated, not the type produced in abundance by the union departments, but rather jobs that are worthy of today's highly skilled workers.

Fourth, the creation of a state system for retraining personnel that guarantees each citizen the opportunity to obtain skills that are needed by the economy.

Fifth and finally, the principle of wage leveling should be resolutely replaced by the principle of "earn as much as possible". Prices then would not reflect nationality, but only skilled hands and goods minds.

My time is up. But it is not our discussion that is at an end, but rather, my monologue on the IME. Let's begin a dialogue.

Estonian USSR Deputy Warns Against Extremism

*18001601 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 23 Aug 89 p 1*

[Article by M. Bronshteyn: "How Long Can One Rock the Boat?"]

[Text] Only one week has passed since I returned from Moscow. Until recently, I had a feeling of having fulfilled my duties to the voters and Estonian inhabitants as a whole. The USSR Supreme Soviet passed documents of historic importance paving the way toward the Republic's genuine sovereignty and more effective economic relations, under which the people and the producers become full-fledged owners and distributors of their natural resources and products of labor. We find ourselves just at the beginning of a difficult road leading to political and economic independence and, consequently, of responsibility for the future of each individual and society as a whole.

The USSR Council of Ministers has instructed its Committee for economic reform to draft a law on the economic independence of the Lithuanian and Estonian SSR, which should cover the Latvian SSR. It should be drafted by October 1, in time for the second reading. As a chairman of the subcommittee on territorial economic accountability and regional economic independence, I am to go to the neighboring republic in the next few days to harmonize our positions in view of a difficult discussion that took place in the USSR Supreme Soviet. To be frank, I'm besieged by doubts not only about what I can do. Do I have the moral right to advise others when we failed to make successful progress in our Republic? On the contrary, the pitch of confrontation has increased dramatically recently. What is worse, uncontrolled feelings and grudges, unwillingness and inability to understand each other and to find a worthy and sensible compromise can completely bury our hopes of providing a life and place we deserve in human community. It is natural for any revolution to stir a storm of social and national emotions. Vainglorious "storm petrels," displaying even their "best intentions," can urge under these circumstances: "Let the thunderstorm come stronger." But can our rather unseaworthy boat withstand it?

I recall the beginning of our work at the congress of USSR People's Deputies. It was packed with emotion. It was "considerably" added to by our deputies who took the rostrum and those who distributed printed matter at the Congress. Their goal looked noble enough - to protect the interests of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia. In conditions when more and more bills have to be paid, the concerns displayed by the Russian-speaking community was justified. Nobody will agree to pay for the crimes and errors committed by the "fathers" of nations, who usurped power, with their own future and the future of their children. By harping on the sometimes not very polite wording in the IME draft documents and the somewhat irresponsible statements made by some of

its proponents, the authors of a brochure that was circulated at the Congress tried, for all intents and purposes, to deliver a devastating blow against the very idea of a union republic's sovereignty and to bar the way towards introducing the republican economic accountability.

Tremendous efforts were required to dispel the inventions and prepare a draft law of the USSR Supreme Soviet, safeguarding in a worthwhile manner the interests of all inhabitants of the Republic and of the Union in general.

We were in for another stab in the back, however. The stab was delivered by Tiyt Made, one of the fathers of the IME idea, of all people. What was the author's purpose? To sink his own brainchild which was fighting against heavy odds these days to win the hearts and minds of the majority of deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet? To enforce his own people's isolation from the world community? To play into the hands of the racist, chauvinist and conservative forces? T. Made insulted not only the Russian people, but also that segment of its intellectual which was preparing perestroika under the most harsh conditions, in the indestructible spirit of traditions displayed by the best sons of Russia, "For Your and Our Freedom!" The aspirations of the Estonian people for national redemption and free development can hardly be realized without their resolute support, which became so evident at the USSR Supreme Soviet and beyond its walls.

It highly unlikely that Tiyt Made can rock our boat all on his own. His speech was given "due" appraisal by the Estonian public. But groups on the right and left sides are making more strenuous efforts to make the boat go under.

I fully understand the feelings of the people who assign their signatures at the Town Hall square. The fiftieth anniversary of the Stalin-Hitler criminal deal. I also support self-determination for the Estonian people and for Estonia's genuine political and economic sovereignty. I have my own score to settle with the Stalin-Zhdanov clique - after graduating from Leningrad University, because of my "racial inferiority," I could not find a job in the city where I was born, where my parents had operated machine-tools for dozens of years and where I took the military oath in July 1941. Estonia had become my home. It was there where my children and grandchildren were born. Why can't I put my signature at the Town Hall square then? It turns out that based on the stand taken by the leaders of "citizens' committees," only those who had resided in Estonia prior to July 1940 or their descendants have the right. But I hail from Leningrad. So, I can rescind my right to influence the future of the Republic. If the majority of my voters do not place their confidence in me, I'll stop being the People's Deputy of the USSR. The more so that I'm of a pension age. But I have strong doubts that one third of the population, whose residence in Estonia is, according

to the "citizens' committees," a legal nonsense, will be prepared to give up their civil rights.

The Republic's economic situation and political stability have been rocked by strikes that took place at many so-called Russian-speaking enterprises. I can understand some of the reasons behind this. As a matter of fact, the civil rights of a national minority should be guaranteed in a law-governed state. Any adaptation (including to language) requires time, patience, and material resources. However, economic dislocation under such difficult conditions, the "take-it-or-leave-it" and insulting nature of some demands and statements made by the strike organizers, in the vein of "we worked while they sang and danced," and the illegal efforts to establish alternative organs of power can result in the violation of the Republic's sovereignty and territorial integrity and in the events that cannot be controlled or predicted. The entire historical experience proves that the most grave crisis in intra-national relations can be provoked rather easily. But it is next to impossible to resolve it normally.

What is required then? It does not look that it takes much. Reason and responsibility should overwhelm emotions, grudges and ambitions. The leaders of public movements should base their appeals on economic and political realities, and not on "good intentions, which are known to pave the road to hell. A desire and the skills to strike reasonable and worthy compromises.

The people in the ancient world knew that one cannot step into the same river twice. The same applies to time. Estonia's 1940 political and demographic situation cannot be re-established without a forceful eviction of almost one third of its population. It is not accidental that Tiyt Made urges M. Gorbachev to follow A. Hitler's example and to call back all the Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians living in Estonia. But will M. Gorbachev assume the role of a "fuehrer" and will 300-400,000 people follow him speechlessly to Russian villages. Quite a few of them already lend their ears to the irresponsible calls for creating their own oblast on the Estonian territory. Tiyt Made's statement that his version allows no compromises cannot but increase the number of advocates of a forceful solution on the other side of the boat.

The appeals to break away from the Union and to achieve a full national independence act in the same direction. We depend on the Union market and the political situation around the Republic a great deal. Not a false independence of the economic and political realities, but a full sovereignty for the Estonian people, a political and economic independence and responsibility, equal partnership in a free community of sovereign states show towards a feasible way towards achieving people's power, ensuring the protection and prosperity of the Estonian people and of all citizens of the Republic who tied up their future with it.

I belong to the Russian-speaking community. But I have differences of principle with the approach taken by the

Intermovement leaders. I strongly believe that only those of its leaders who are ready to understand and take into account the interests of the Estonian community can safeguard the interests of the Russian-speaking community in a real way. Is it so hard to understand that future uncontrolled development of the migration processes will turn the people whose name the Republic bears into a national minority in their own land in the next few years, the people whose many generations worked hard to create its material and spiritual culture? That the continued supremacy and diktat of the Union agencies will fail to protect the so-called Union enterprises, but will rather deepen the economic and ecological crisis. That by preserving the old language situation, the Estonian language, the most important spiritual asset of the Estonian people, will eventually be confined to everyday life. Isn't a sensible duty for everybody who made Estonia their home to help the indigenous population to bolster their confidence and dignity, multiplying Estonia's material and spiritual wealth in common interests? I'm confident that good intentions and deeds will not be left unredeemed.

The transition to IME is taking place in difficult times. The country is plagued with a financial crisis, the market is out of balance. If we want to survive we cannot avoid unpopular economic recovery measures. In this sense, the situation is similar to the one in Poland. But it is aggravated by an imbroglio of intra-national grudges and spites. Temptation to use power methods is great. Instead of resolving problems, they can throw the country dozens of decades back. Even with the IME, our Republic cannot shut itself off from the processes taking place in the country and the world. The IME gives us a chance and an impetus to revitalize the economy. But this can be done only in conditions of social and national mutual understanding, an early realization of opportunities provided by the multi-layer market economy, making use of the entire system of levers that enable enterprises to increase the competitiveness of their products without delay, and put to use the initiatives, talent and skills shown by all workers. This is a field of action for those who are ready to start gathering stones and build a house for our children.

Estonian Delegate to USSR Council of Ministers Interviewed

18150086

[Editorial Report] Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian on 16 July 1989 carries on page 1 a 1,300-word interview with Elmar Matt, Estonian's newly appointed delegate to the USSR Council of Ministers, headlined "New Winds at the Estonian Embassy" by ETA special correspondent L. Rannamets. Matt's new diplomatic position, based at the former Estonian Embassy location in Moscow, is described in the article as "the permanent delegate of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers to the USSR Council of Ministers." The article also indicates that the office has housed the Estonian Embassy since 1920, and a permanent delegation since 1940. Among priorities for

the delegation, according to Matt, are involvement in preparing legislative measures, developing ties with deputies to the Supreme Soviet, and speeding up the flow of information. On the latter he comments:

"The delegation will have to be hooked up to the automated information system for the republics' directive organs (DIAS), and become an integral part of it, along with channels of communication, computer technology and a common language with the data banks." Other advances planned, according to Matt, include access to all Estonian data banks, a subscription to ETA (Estonian News Agency), a telefax, and a regular output of information on the activities of the delegation.

Matt adds that besides maintaining diplomatic contact with other Union republics and foreign visitors, the delegation will also be involved in the planning of the Estonian Cultural Center in Moscow, now slated for completion in 1992. Matt also noted that one of his goals was to work with Estonians living in Moscow, including students, especially in the area of learning and teaching Estonian. Commenting on the changes brought about by IME legislation, Matt says:

"I think that contacts with other republics will gain a new dimension under IME conditions. Right now, no direct ties have been developed between different republics....One can assume that economic contacts based on mutual interest will also be needing our mediation."

Latvian Popular Front 2nd Congress Summed Up, Bresis Quoted

90UN0120 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
10 Oct 89 p 4

[Article by B. Petkevicha and V. Smirnov, LATINFORM correspondents: "From Enthusiasm to Consistent Work"]

[Text] For 2 days—October 7-8 and the morning of 9 October—the attention of the people of the republic was riveted on what was occurring in Riga at the second congress of the People's Front of Latvia. More than a thousand delegates, numerous guests from various countries of the world, and envoys of democratic movements from other union republics participated in it. The congress aroused the great interest of journalists of the entire world—journalists from 18 countries were accredited to it. For the first time, a correspondent of the radio station "Free Europe" arrived in Riga.

The front, being popular in its nature, summed up all of the people's troubles, hopes, and aspirations, and it wove them into a common idea for acquiring state independence. Therefore, the new policy is not just the replacement of a signboard, but a vitally important necessity—without this program, the NFL [People's Front of Latvia] would lose the support of the people. According to sociological data, the People's Front is now supported not only by an overwhelming majority of the Latvians, but also by 64 percent of the Russians and 57 percent of

the inhabitants of other nationalities. Moreover, the NFL has support groups in Estonia, Leningrad, Moscow, Buryatiya, Ashkhabad, and also in the United States, Canada, and Sweden. All told, the NFL now unites about 207,000 members. The delegates listened with great attention to the report of Daynis Ivans, the chairman of the People's Front, and to several co-reports.

There was also interest at the congress in the speech of Vilnis Bresis, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic. He said, in part:

"I think that we are absolutely of the same opinion about the road we should take, about the objective we should reach, about a real people's government, and about a genuine sovereignty of the people by which our people will determine the destiny of our native Latvia. I think that today the greatest service of the congress is that we are beginning to talk specifically about those roads we should travel to reach this objective.

"Inasmuch as our time is very limited, I will venture to dwell only on three aspects of these problems. One already can be accomplished today, and it is being accomplished now so that we would be able to bring our main tasks nearer. These are the restoration of the property of our republic and the establishment of economic management systems that are equivalent to those of other peoples. This is the rights to our own budget which, unfortunately, were abolished, and at the present time it is absolutely not clear to us what they look like and how they are formed. This is at least our first 20 economic laws, which will have to be elaborated and adopted in the very near future. And I think that the representatives of our People's Front, who said here that it is necessary to participate in this work much more actively, expressed the right thought, in my opinion. We are ready for such cooperation and ask that you help us.

"The second aspect—this is a question which is on the next level, the level of the USSR. It seems to me that our perestroika, nonetheless, should in some way be balanced with what we are doing and with what other nations are doing. In two directions. First, I think, it is important to us that these democratic processes occur in the entire Soviet state. Because, whatever our republic becomes, it is not unimportant for us who lives next to us and what kind of a democratic system exists there, and what the governmental regime is. This is also extremely important today and in the future. We have to cope with the fact that perestroika has both friends and enemies. And depending on who is on the crest of the wave at any given moment, we must act and coordinate depending on the historical and political situation. And the third aspect is international. The very considerable attention of the whole world is riveted on the Baltic movement. And, probably, no one has any doubt about this today. But it seems to me that at the same time it is necessary to consider the fact, if it can be put this way, that we have more moral supporters, but not 'material' supporters. And, therefore, I think that we are faced with a common task. Today, when we are creating our new national

economic system, when we have actually begun a new economic reform and are forming republic property, I appeal to you not to arm yourselves with the slogans of other fronts that a Riga bureaucracy will replace the Moscow bureaucracy. No! The Moscow bureaucracy will be replaced by the authority of the people. This is the way this must be understood. And I would like to see this new national economic system of the republic acquire broad international economic ties as soon as possible. I am firmly convinced that the people can be free to the extent that its economy is free, to the extent that it can select its economic partners for itself, and to the extent that its products can compete on the world market. And this is our common task that has to be resolved. And it seems to me that it is necessary to support the delegates who made such proposals in every way possible, and we are ready to cooperate with you in this direction.

"And the very last thing. We might have had differences with the People's Front in the past, but I think that we coordinated our activity on the main questions, and this cooperation was mutually beneficial," V. Bresis said in conclusion

In the area of the national economy, NFL economists envision the replacement of the directive-planned economy and centralized distribution of goods, which have proven their inefficiency, with a free market economy based on three forms of property—private, collective (joint-stock), and state. They think that the main one will be private property, including private property in land, inasmuch as world practice shows that private property and the personal initiative that is based on it ensures the most efficient functioning of a free market and leads to the highest standard of living of the people. At the same time, the transition to a new economy should be implemented gradually. It is necessary in the transition period to retain the strong collective farms, so that a situation would not develop in which the new proprietors are not yet producing and the kolkhozes [collective farms] are no longer producing. E. Grinovskis, a professor at the Latvian Agricultural Academy, ties the betterment of the life of rural residents completely to the formation of joint-stock peasant societies, which have already been created in the kolkhozes Padomju Latvia and Yaunays Komunars.

It is recommended that science-intensive and resource-economical production be established in industry. Many enterprises, proceeding from real needs and capabilities, and also from the labor resources of the republic, will have to reprofile or even close down. The NFL is also contemplating a policy for the cooperation and integration of the states of the entire Baltic region and for the creation of a common market of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. As was remarked at the press conference which was held before the congress, after acquiring state independence, the Baltic republics could provide 90 percent of their food products (in the opinion of some economists, even 100 percent), and 70 percent of their industrial products. The remainder depends on the freedom of economic activity of the republics of the Soviet Union

and other foreign economic ties. As was noted at the congress, tension in the scheme of interethnic relations has eased. In fact, it was never as acute as was sometimes depicted in the central organs of the press. As the representatives of democratic movements of other union republics have repeatedly noted, it is a long-standing method of the ruling apparatus: Under the mask of the consolidation of people, to inject even more discord in order to divert the attention of the people from all of the state and social troubles and thereby retain authority. The overwhelming majority of Latvians understands that it is not the representatives of other nationalities who are to blame for the situation that has developed, but a totalitarian regime that gave rise to a policy of assimilation. The people, following the words of the great Latvian thinker Raynis, realize more and more that they must not fight each other, but "all together against the darkness."

The fact that other nationalities of Latvia share the troubles of the Latvians as their own was proved by the Forum of the People of Latvia. The famous writer and dramatist Vladlen Dozortsev remarked that in the last half year even Russian attitudes have gotten significantly closer to that of the Latvians in the assessment of the past and the political outlook. Everyone understands this: It is not possible for half the population to take the difficult road of acquiring independence. If the republic is multinational, this means it is necessary to work together. Contacts of the political committee of the NFL with non-Latvian audiences and sociological opinion polls indicate that the idea of the state independence of Latvia now has very many supporters among non-Latvians—up to 60 percent. The NFL has worked up a broad program in the area of ensuring individual rights and the social protection of all inhabitants of an independent Latvia without exception.

Besides the vagueness of objectives that have been set forth and the ways of attaining them, which was characteristic of the first program of the NFL, the congress also mentioned other omissions in the first year of work of the quickly created organization; for example, the union with the workers was not strong enough. This phrase, which was heard at the congress, did a lot of damage: "We see where the workers' state has led us." There is hardly anyone now who will dispute the fact that worker authority did not exist—workers served only as marionettes voting for the objectives of the ruling apparatus. Therefore, workers today, more than at anytime before, are protesting against the use of their name for somebody's ambitious objectives. Protests were raised repeatedly at the congress against the monopolistic right to ideology by one social-political organization and against the union of "party-state." A democratic society can exist only under a multiparty system.

The economic and also the political struggle of the NFL would be facilitated by the fastest possible development of democratic movements of other union republics, and also by the spread of the progressive ideas of the people's fronts of the Baltics not only in the Soviet Union, but in

the entire world. The People's Front of Latvia will continue to be a uniting force in the future, a coalition of all social currents of Latvia, and a "roof" for all democratic organizations.

The main objective of the NFL is an independent parliamentary republic that will continue the democratic traditions of the Latvian Republic and maintain friendly relations with all countries of the world. An economic and political status should be established in Latvia which provides for a transition period and the restoration of an independent state of Latvia through democratic and non-violent means. It is entirely possible that it is the experience of the parliamentary struggle of the NFL that will become the school of parliamentarism in Latvia, it was noted at the congress.

The congress adopted not only a new program, but new NFL Regulations as well; it elected the leadership organs, and it adopted a number of resolutions. Daynis Ivans was re-elected chairman of the People's Front, and Ivars Godmanis became his deputy.

A. Gorbunov, chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, attended the congress.

Deputy Accused of Lying About Miners Turning in Party Cards

*18001629b Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
3 Sep 89 p 1*

[Unsigned article: "The Lies of Deputy V. Yavorivskiy: In Connection With a Certain TV Interview"]

[Text] On September 1, V. Yavorivskiy, USSR people's deputy, appeared on the Vzglyad Central Television program. We will not comment on everything that he managed to say in his accustomed meeting style of not exhibiting overly much concern for the authenticity of his facts. We will dwell only on a few instances.

V. Yavorivskiy announced to a multimillion-member audience of television viewers that he had allegedly witnessed hundreds of miners giving up their party cards at the Zasyadko mine in Donetsk during the strike. Literally the next day, September 2, it became clear that this was a bare-faced lie. The editorial offices of PRAVDA UKRAINY received calls from the Donbass. V. V. Volkov, secretary of the Zasyadko mine party committee, said:

"The Communists of our mine are deeply troubled by the irresponsible prank played by B. Yavorivskiy, a party member and USSR people's deputy. They regard his announcement on Vzglyad to be downright lies and slander. During the strike, Yavorivskiy was present at the mine's party aktiv, and could not have failed to hear that at the crucial moment there were not hundreds, not even individuals, who considered withdrawing from the CPSU."

I want to remind Yavorivskiy one more time, through the newspaper, that in the register of the mine's party organization there are 1447 party members and 30 candidates for CPSU membership. In 1988 and 1989 we have excluded all of five people for not wanting to belong to the CPSU. And this year we have accepted 19 miners as candidates for CPSU membership. In the time since the strike Gennadiy Pavlovich Simonenko, a miner, has already been accepted as a candidate for CPSU membership.

"Now," Valeriy Vasilyevich said in conclusion, "reviews are being conducted in the mine's workshop and district party organizations. At these meetings one hears criticism that is strict and businesslike in a party manner. The miners are searching for ways to solve urgent problems, and are talking about consolidating the healthy forces of restructuring. In light of this, Yavorivskiy's announcement cannot only be judged a provocation."

But maybe Deputy V. Yavorivskiy got the address wrong, and something like this happened somewhere else in the Donbass? The editors contacted the Donetsk Obkom. A. D. Kushnir, department of organizational party and personnel work deputy head, came to the phone. What follows is his statement, word for word:

"We do not have at hand any information about a mass withdrawal of miners from CPSU membership. For the days of the strike, I repeat, there were no announcements whatsoever of withdrawals from the party. I will announce one more time categorically: during the strike there were elements of confusion among some Communists, but there were no withdrawals from the CPSU, and no announcements that the party was not necessary were heard."

As we can see, certain hotheads are now attempting to take advantage of the strike after the fact for political purposes, in order to gain from it political capital.

And here is the last information we have for Deputy Yavorivskiy: in seven months the oblast party organization has grown by 3936 people, of which 71.7

are workers and collective farmers. Yes, there were losses, as well; 159 people left the party in the first half of the year. Do these figures not speak for themselves, Comrade Deputy?

In the same interview, V. Yavorivskiy announced that in the years of reconstruction, not a single member of government in the republic has been replaced. This is what the UkSSR Council of Ministers press center told us:

In March of 1985, a republic government of 63 people was formed by the UkSSR Supreme Soviet. In the period since then, only 26 of them have remained at their posts. In other words, two-thirds of the UkSSR government staff is new. Of these, out of the UkSSR government staff

for this period, the chairman of the Council of Ministers and five out of his ten deputies have been replaced.

Of course, the replacement of members of government is not a goal in itself, and cannot serve as an indicator of the efficiency of reconstruction. The most important thing is that the responsible government districts be headed by intelligent, competent people.

But in this case, we are speaking of something else—of the veracity of the information that is presented to the public.

Unfortunately, this is not the first time that USSR People's Deputy V. Yavorivskiy has not burdened himself with the reliability and objectivity of the facts that he uses in public appearances and in the mass media.

In its time, the Presidium of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences has debunked V. Yavorivskiy, in relation to age opportunites and the scientific potential of the republic's scholars. At the July 2 regional conference of the NDU in Kiev, his fabrication about the burying of wastes from the nuclear plant at Chernobyl was refuted by concrete facts.

It is obvious that the lesson was to no avail.

After the aforementioned appearance on the program "Vsglyad," the question arises of its own accord, when is Deputy V. Yavorivskiy speaking the truth, and can we trust his information. Probably, his constituency also has the right to remind Deputy V. Yavorivskiy that the high title that has been placed upon him by the people must be borne with great responsibility.

Press Assails Ukrainian 'Rukh' Leader Yavorivskiy

People's Deputy Denies Calling for Nationalist Meetings

18001661 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
7 Sep 89 p 1

[Commentary by A. Sergiychuk, under the rubric "The Latest Mail": "Unconvincing!"]

[Text] On 5 September USSR People's Deputy V. Yavorivskiy appeared on the Ukrainian television program "Vechirniy Visnyk." He devoted a significant portion of his screen time to the "intrigues" of the newspaper PRAVDA UKRAINY which, he says, is "after" him and distorting the meaning of his statements.

Enough, comrade deputy! Did you not, in your interview for the television program "Vzglyad," announce that the Donetsk Basin coal miners were turning in their party membership cards by the hundreds at the time of the strikes? Now you maintain that the interview was edited to sound that way. But a word is still a word, with a specifically defined meaning, no matter how much

editing has taken place. And now by way of rebuttal you introduce other facts that are unrelated to the situation.

And what good are your protests that you had nothing to do with the Sunday nationalist meetings at Soviet Square in Kiev because you were not in town at that time? You should read the newspaper closely. It does not claim that you attended the assemblies. But did you not, at a meeting on 2 July, address those present with the words, "I remind you! Every Sunday at about 12 near the Supreme Rada..." Was not your "reminder" a kind of benediction of these assemblies?

And now you are pleased to grow angry and threaten to institute legal proceedings against PRAVDA UKRAINY. Well, let the free enjoy their freedom. But remember that the judge will expect verifiable facts, not the emotionalism of a public meeting.

Stormy Meeting Held at Kiev Factory

*18001661 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
7 Sep 89 p 1*

[Commentary by N. Karpova: "In Front on a White Horse, or Why a Reserve Airport for a People's Deputy?"]

[Text] Truly, there is no such thing as bad publicity! Would so many people have crowded into the hall of the Palace of Culture at the Kiev factory "Bolshevik" for a meeting with People's Deputy V. A. Yavorivskiy on 4 September if our newspaper had not printed an article the previous evening exposing the author as a liar?

Paying no attention to the evidence against him, Vladimir Aleksandrovich disposed of his opponents with a wave of the hand: It seems that he was simply "being abused by untalented, bungling journalists." And they were not acting on their own, of course, but were specially commissioned by the party apparat, which the author—himself a member of the party, by the way—seems to see everywhere, much as the Central Intelligence Agency sees in all things "the hand of Moscow." Well, he got a bit worked up when he declared on the program "Vzglyad" last Friday that hundreds of the Donets Basin coal miners were supposedly turning in their party membership cards. He should have said simply, "many coal miners." Then let them try to expose the literary man as a liar.

And it is very easy to take Vladimir Aleksandrovich at his word. Even for us—the rank and file journalists of PRAVDA UKRAINY which, according to the author, is fit for the consumption of "nobody but Papuans." (Well, at least the "Papuans" are interested in our work!) It is strange that the audience responded to the orators "humor" with thunderous applause. This exotic epithet also pertains to those among them who read our newspaper on Sunday.

Having publicly received such a slap in the face, we naturally began to wonder: Several hours before the

meeting, when he and his "boys" dropped in at our editorial office, why did Vladimir Aleksandrovich not say any of this directly to one of the journalists? Why did he not dispute the basis of the article "Deputy V. Yavorivskiy's Lie" and bring evidence refuting it? Was he frightened? Or did he reserve his anger for a more convenient occasion?

Nonetheless, the deputy "exposed" at this meeting more than just the intrigues, as his admirers call them, of the "yellow" party press. Incidentally, he does not mind yellow in the Ukrainian colors. He says that we must examine further whose flags are purer: The yellow and blue flags of the Petlyura movement [Ukrainian counterrevolutionary nationalist movement in 1918-20] or the red and blue flags of the republic. But let the history scholars delve into that question. As Vladimir Aleksandrovich himself has acknowledged, he does not care what sort of banner the people follow him under. The main thing is that they follow, and only later will we see where they are being led. As for who follows him, that does not worry him very much either. "They are all our people—we accept everyone!" exclaims the writer. And then he immediately complains that "haranguers, demagogues, idiots, nationalists, and provocateurs" are joining the NDU [Ukrainian Popular Movement] and that he—the leader!—cannot be responsible for their actions.

What a leader! And how accurately he characterized his congregation on the eve of the NDU's first constituent republic forum when he said, "I am afraid that our congress is going to turn into a Ukrainian circus with flags." He certainly has good cause to be afraid! And the writer is especially worried about the opinion of the foreign journalists who were invited. He is worried that he will end up with egg on his face in front of the representatives of the bourgeois press. Any "idiot" in that noble assembly could suddenly start bawling! You cannot keep an eye on everyone.

And what if these same "provocateurs" take up not only their tridents and Petlyura flags but grenades and assault rifles too, as they did in Uzbekistan and Abkhazia? I do not know about the other leaders of the NDU, but our Vladimir Aleksandrovich will not answer for anything. He absolves himself of all responsibility in advance. He threatens civil war. And all the time he talks again and again about the need for some sort of "reserve airport." This obtrusive image wanders from one of Yavorivskiy's speeches to the next. And he again made mention of it at the meeting in the "Bolshevik's" Palace of Culture. Only now he says that the Baltic people are prepared to supply the reserve airport to the "Rukh" members, or more accurately, to supply a roof for shelter and a square for meetings. Can such an organization be called the Ukrainian Popular Movement for Perestroyka when, before it has even been formed, it seeks support from the outside rather than from among its own people?

When you listen to Yavorivskiy's opinion on the nationalities questions, you find it difficult to make out something. Maybe he himself still has not determined whom

he is supporting, the "reds" or the "whites." Or is he hiding his true intentions and acting on the principle of "as you please" so that he will not alienate the masses? How, for example, is one to understand a statement like this: Of course, non-Ukrainians can feel at home in the Ukraine too. But... they should not forget where they are at home and where they are visiting.

"I envision sovereignty of the Ukraine while a constituent part of the USSR," the writer firmly declares. And then he smiles and softly adds: But it is better to live separately and well than all together and poorly.

The writer entertains the public for 5 and ½ hours without a break. And the "righteous" speeches of the deputy, on ecology and social justice and on the transfer of power to the soviets, of land to the peasants, and of factories to the workers, were abruptly punctuated with insults directed at everyone and everything. The fairy tales we heard at that meeting! And guess how our elected representatives occupied their time at the congress after the sessions? That is right, they drank vodka and ate salt pork. The writer also spoke in characteristic fashion of the dairymaids and tractor drivers who had advanced to the rank of people's deputy: He said that they should be eating at the snack bar. And those Ukrainian representatives who disagreed with Yavorivskiy at the rostrum also came in for much abuse. Especially Kas'yan, a people's doctor, who supposedly sold himself to the apparatchiks—and that is why he was supporting the vote for Ryzhkov.

What kind of political culture, what kind of parliamentary and party ethics does it show when the orator contrives to deliver an incidental jab at his "close friends"—Russian-speaking writers living in the Ukraine. He says that their entire vocabulary consists of 450 words they heard at the Kreshchatik. The juicy details our deputy revealed to his audience! In the 5 and ½ hours of the meeting, though, he did not find time to explain how he is carrying out his pre-election promises. Why worry about them when there is such a grand game to be played!

Some sensible people who had accidentally found themselves at this well-orchestrated pageant tried to ask the deputy questions concerning the politics of the NDU or to rebut the "Rukh" members. Fat chance! All opponents were clapped and whistled down and called "party workers," KGB agents, and provocateurs.

It was painful for the party leaders of the "Bolshevik" factory, worthy opponents from a working-class environment, to be unable to oppose the haranguers who saw themselves riding the white horse.

We do not wish to devote so much attention to one person, but we must. We must in order to understand how a deputy who is fond of public appearances wins admirers. Unfortunately it is all nothing more than skillfully working the crowd. As the writer himself likes

to repeat, he could never pull off this trick in any of the civilized countries. But for some reason it is working here...

Kiev Gorkom Official Speaks Out Against Peoples' Movement

18001602 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
31 Aug 89 p 2

Article by Yu. Kilimnik, secretary of the Ukrainian CP Kiev Gorkom: "I Cannot Remain Silent! In Connection With An Interview With V. Yavorivskiy"]

[Text] During the last month of the summer I met and conversed frequently with various people in casual situations. Many who were "oriented" to the press asked questions incessantly: What is your position on the conversation between journalist O. Balabko and writer Vladimir Yavorivskiy, chairman of the coordinating council for the Kiev regional organization of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring [PMU]? Do you agree with all of the USSR People's Deputy's opinions on the PMU, published August 13, 1989 in the monthly KULTURA I ZHITTYA? But this is not surprising. Judging by the responses—and the number I have had to listen to is not small—to the views expressed by V. Yavorivskiy, they struck some people as a stunning revelation.

Before going on to the heart of the matter, I would like to say the following. For the sake of fairness it should be mentioned that in the last few years V. Yavorivskiy's writing has gained the public's attention. The writer has displayed enviable persistence, even pushiness, in the defense and wide propaganda of his opinions. One would only welcome this sort of energy, if the road that he travels had not at times led him astray, away from a party attitude [partynost], a class approach to the evaluation of our society's development and social processes. And now, let us see exactly what the results are of his offhand, but sweepingly written words in the newspaper's "dialogue on a real theme."

I.

Concerning the potential forces of the People's Movement in support of restructuring, the leader of the Kiev organization of the PMU has said, "It is not our task to allow provocateurs, brawlers and recidivists into our midst. But if we announce that Rukh forbids one type but not the other, then we will immediately turn into a bureaucratic organization. So, *let all join!*" (Italics are mine—Yu. K.) What is cited above is not reassuring—does this sound correct coming from the lips of a party member, and is it possible that today everyone indiscriminately belongs to ranks of a patriotic movement for restructuring? Yet what has been written by the pen, says folk wisdom, cannot be struck down by the axe. The words "khaidut' usi" in this case quite obviously lay bare the "political preferences" of V. Yavorivskiy, behind which, one would think, stands a particular

political position, a personal view of the people who are capable of moving the processes of restructuring in the republic forward.

Besides that, this was all the more surprising to read because the unusual "spiritual atmosphere" that prevailed on July 1 at the Kiev founding conference of the PMU received a fair critical assessment in the mass information media. And most of all due to the fact that along with healthy forces, persons, who cloaked in restructuring slogans attempt to attach themselves to the emerging people's movement, said things at the conference that approached the point of being inadmissible. The only ones who do not see this are those who do not wish to see. The nation is insulted, history, the party, man himself—and this is allegedly pluralism and openness, while all who oppose this, who defend the party, their own pride and the nation's—are anti-restructuring forces. No, this is not a "campaign of lies," as members of the Kiev coordinating council of the PMU say, with the aid of leaflets that were distributed to address this criticism, but society's natural attempt to express its opinion, to rise to the defense of those socialist values that have been profaned by various types of nationalistically slanted newly-arrived elements.

It was exactly at this time, it seems to me, that V. Yavorivskiy faced a choice: to either draw the necessary conclusions from the criticism, or to continue implementing the idea of a "union," unworthy of party members, with impromptu formations of an extremist character. It looks as if he chose the second. Such is its political essence, no matter what verbal camouflage there may be.

A highly-placed official in the Ukrainian Writers' Union formulates his approach to evaluating the founding conference in the following manner: "Naturally as a participant I have a certain stake in the conference. But not everyone is satisfied where many people speak out, where pluralism is proclaimed and where passions run high. Some of those assessing the conference sometimes forget what sort of times we live in..." Already this initial quote, contained in the last part of the final sentence, evokes bewilderment. What happens then: "guilty" of everything, it turns out, is the absentmindedness of the journalists, their natural urge to watch attentively *what* is absorbed into the Movement, *how* it is received, and *where* it is going. It is a little awkward to remind a professional litterateur that well-defined ideological and attitudinal differences, not "other democratic dimensions" that, in his opinion, exist today, were used as the basic criterion for evaluating the conference (although they are indisputably important).

Believing this truth "basic for the Marxist," V. I. Lenin never tired of recalling that ideology is always of a class nature. I would like to revive in readers' memories Lenin's words from the famous work "What Is to Be Done?": "Any depreciation of socialist ideology, any deviation from it signifies in itself the strengthening of bourgeois ideology." (*Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy*, vol.

6, p. 40). It is exactly this that the leader of the PMU's Kiev coordinating council has forgotten. Need I say how far his position is from Lenin's requirements, how it disorients the politically immature reader! And it is a pity. The minute we inadvertently forget about the class approach to life's phenomena and processes, nationalism immediately raises its head—crawling out secretly or in the open, shameless or powdered with concerned phrases about the development of national consciousness. And here, I think, it is completely appropriate to say that nationalist sentiments are the very first indication of the absence of a high political self-awareness, people's loss of their national pride. While nationalist passions are raging, it is hard to remain a person, to preserve the real sanctity of one's own nation. Without an awareness of all of this, it is difficult today not to surrender to the temptation of using the actions of some sort of evildoers to explain away one's own errors in policy.

At first I was overjoyed to discover in the published dialogue that V. Yavorivskiy had ideas like these: "Rukh—is an ally of renewal. The one thing that we are against is the propaganda of coercion, anti-Sovietism, interethnic hostilities and calls for overthrowing the government." But we know that it is not words that determine actions, but the objective content of the actions that determines the sense of the words. And here the difference between the phrase and reality is obvious. In any case, I do not understand why, when responding to the journalist's questions, our respected writer attempted to pass over the facts of the political provocations based on anti-Sovietism and nationalism that took place both at the "All Power to the Soviets!" meeting that was conducted under the auspices of the PMU on July 2, and at the founding conference in Kiev. And this caused a natural anxiety in people. This, let us be frank, is also a political factor, which is impossible not to take under consideration.

II.

In developing the idea of a "self-purging" Movement, expressing the hope that in its ranks "the people's wisdom and internal control will prevail," the chairman of the Kiev organization of the PMU asks that "each person be permitted to express his views," and for sufficient "patience and the ability to listen to an opponent." Now, in the time of restructuring, the political essence of which is democratization, these demands sound up-to-date, and, I would say, far-sighted. There is no sin, nor can there be, in different ways of thinking. Today, it seems that all healthy-thinking people agree with this. Besides this, party organizations, Communists, and the organs for the preservation of justice have been called upon to fight decisively against deviations from Soviet laws, against ideological or attitudinal omnivorousness, against subversive work directed towards stirring up interethnic strife, utilizing in this battle the mass information media and the opportunities offered by the law and criticism, based on public opinion. Events in Sumgait, Fergana, Abkhazia and many other hot spots in the country—did these not indeed require operative

preventive measures? Open provocative demands that do not receive a timely and effective rebuff right now are worse than matches in gasoline fumes.

We must recall this, because in our republic as well, in the city of Kiev, there are extremist forces that are outstanding in their anti-socialist, nationalist loyalties. As an example I can quote the so-called "Ukrainian Helsinki Union" [UHU]. It became clear long ago who these "friends of the Ukrainian people" were, and where they wanted to push the people. And to push under the protection of the trident and the yellow-blue flag, which, besides signifying treason, among the people have become symbols of atrocities and brutality. How do we know—maybe it is no coincidence that some people prefer to search for explanations of this symbolism in the romantic past, and not in the lessons of most recent history?

On the subject of the political goals that the members of the UHU have set for themselves, this amateur organization's "Declaration of Principles" holds forth convincingly. I will cite here the evaluation of specialist investigator Alim Lysyuk, from the newspaper LVOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 17 June of this year:

There are points in the "declaration" that elicit protest. Let's take the ones that contain the demand for "the establishment of a special Ukrainian citizenship," the possession of which would be required for a citizen of the USSR to enjoy voter's rights or to hold positions in government institutions on the territory of the republic. The system proposed in the declaration is manifestly discriminatory. According to the UHUs' [ukhaesovtsy] logic, an ancestor of Ukrainian emigrants coming to the Ukraine for the first time or a Ukrainian second-time emigrant from other republics of the USSR will become citizens of the UkSSR on the spot, while, let's say, a newly arrived non-Ukrainian specialist who is necessary to the republic will wait 10 years before he is recognized as a citizen of the UkSSR. This sort of approach would be the crudest violation both of the principle of social justice and of the principle of the equality of all of our country's citizens, independent of nationality affiliation, language, attitude towards religion and so forth—speaking simply, nullifying the very human rights for which the UHU declares its protection.

Any additional comment on these unworthy claims, I suggest, would be superfluous.

Is it possible that the alarming social repercussions of the action of "people's fronts" in the Baltic region, many of which have the character of political parties, teaches us nothing? Does it really not arouse each person to look around more intently, to understand how dangerous it is to cross hazardous borders, to bury oneself because of the feeling that everything is permissible? This is something to talk about. It is impossible not to see that the members of the UHU occasionally look around at their Baltic "brothers," attempt to fall into step with them and their experience, but for some reason never argue with

them openly. And how, may I ask, does one assess from a political point of view this fact: the delegates to the Kiev founding conference of the PMU greeted the end of the speech by the representative of Sajudis **standing, with stormy prolonged applause**, steeped as it was through and through with **separatist ideas**! And even at that time it took no great intelligence to figure out what was hidden behind the Lithuanian people's front's fierce persistence in defending the "new" views on life.

Unfortunately, for some people such concepts as spirituality, morality, and good citizenship have been worn away to the extent that they are spoken of now in the manner and context that at one time would have been reserved for a lack of spirituality, immorality, and bad citizenship. I, for example, am already disturbed by questions like these: Why is it that there is no way that our Kievan supporters of the PMU and their leadership will decide publicly, with the aid of the press, to demand of their "friends" from the "UHU" a political and moral reckoning? Why do they not decisively set limits for those who have not chosen the socialist path taken by the people? This is something that has been quietly passed over, that is in essence a conciliatory position on the phenomenon that one communist acquaintance of mine has defined as the spiritual counter-revolution of our time, and that absolutely cannot be considered right. For a long time already, members of the ideological commission and workers on the city party committee have conducted an uneasy political dialogue with the people who initiated the creation of the PMU, and with its local leadership. More than once in numerous conversations we have turned our attention to the danger of a union between the Movement and informal groupings of an anti-socialist, nationalist tendency. But the creators and leaders of the PMU, who evidently do not understand our anxiety, do not deem it necessary to change the order of things. An impression has formed that the fear of souring relations (but with whom?) is more precious than business or truth. Does this mean that the "people's movement" has definitely put its stake on the UHUs and others like them? One would not wish to draw such a pessimistic conclusion.

As a party worker, I cannot remain silent after reading this sort of maxim in a dialogue on a real theme. V. Yavorivskiy, asserting that allegedly in the PMU today there are many Communists, here also advises the party "to fight for its influence within the PMU." We will put aside the glaring contradiction between these two opinions—the essence shows through. Only one thing interests me: why, with such beliefs, does he himself forget about his party duty? What is this—a dependency that still persists in us? Or an intuitive premonition that the "people's movement" may, both here and in a series of other places, deviate from the completion of the tasks of restructuring, and present a threat to the life of society and man?

Well, in a battle, when things intensify and move toward a climax, each person chooses his position, and shows where he stands. I noticed a long time ago that for true

Communists, what people will say, what will be thought of them and of what they do, is very important. Probably, this is the original party approach to evaluating one's labor and behavior. After all, it is not said in vain that to be a party member is one thing, but to be a Communist, to be dedicated to the communist ideal—is another. And that is what is important to emphasize here. On moral substance, someone will surely respond with irony: "Just think, he is so principled!" Dignity becomes a reproach. Should it be this way? Communist convictions are like a measure of human essence, and are the spiritual support that man needs for his whole life. Convictions will not let him act against his conscience. They will not allow "aliens" to take our heights.

III.

While examining V. Yavorivskiy's position on those who wish to aid the party and the people in making restructuring a reality, you think involuntarily: am I quibbling? Maybe the author simply did not express his thoughts very precisely? Maybe he wanted to say something completely different? But a careful analysis of the writer's responses to the mandate of the USSR People's Deputy convinces me of the opposite. In the weekly KULTURA I ZHITTYA it is printed in black and white: "Naturally I am convinced that during the first stage all sorts of elements will attach themselves to PMU. But grant me this, our party also had Stalin, Beria, Suslov and Kunayev. Nevertheless we do not say that because of this the party is bad. Then do not blame Rukh for all sins. And all the more so since it has not even managed to manifest itself yet..." At this point the statement is cut off, and you feel a certain awkwardness—is V. Yavorivskiy conniving here at the expense of the fact that the "movement" still has not proved itself in any way? However, those who watched the program "Rukh and Its Environment" on Ukrainian television may have been convinced themselves of the extent to which his approach to the description of the PMU's practical activities is biased. The TV screen, in our opinion, has outlined the essence of the "people's movement" that was presented at the conference fairly distinctly: Who basically is behind it? What memory in its life is it guarding? What is it looking for in life, what it is fighting for?

Six months have passed since the draft for the PMU's program was announced. It has been a short time, but, even so, in this period the "people's movement" has already revealed its positions not only in the drafts of documents, but in practice as well. It is impossible not to notice that a number of the PMU's supporters have taken a sharp turn to the left. In the name of the "movement" in Kiev, yes, and as we know, in other places, at meetings slogans of a separatist character have begun to appear more and more frequently: "Invaders Out of Ukraine," "Ukraine for Ukrainians," "For an Independent, United Ukraine" and the like. Let each of us consider which path they are exhorting us to take? To whose advantage?

Whether or not the Movement's path turns out to be self-purging, enduring and effective, the future will undoubtedly tell. One wants to believe that the leadership of the PMU's Kiev affiliate and its political will come out on top in this story, turning to face the urgent problems of the people. So that the beginning initiative, which was conceived as the beginning of an aid to restructuring, can become an actual means for participating in the renovation of our lives, and not just an inconsequential episode, what is necessary now first of all is a unification of forces, a joint search for the solution of the complicated problems life places before us.

We must turn our attention from the art of posing problems to the art of solving them, from dictates and ultimatums to dialogue, from meetings to labor and constructive work. And this, it seems, is the most necessary condition for a real understanding of modern life, in its way a stage of the spiritual restructuring that, according to the law of communicating vessels, must unavoidably accompany the socio-economic reformation of society.

Activities of Ukrainian Peoples' Movement in Kiev Outlined

18001635 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
5 Sep 89 p 4

[Article by S. Paliychuk: "Why the Rascals Are Becoming Insolent, 'Yavorivskiy's Sunday Gatherings' Are Nothing More Than Sabbaths for the Neo-Banderists"]

[Text] The report "Our Banner Is Red and We Do Not Need the Banner of the Petlyurists", which was published on 23 July, has elicited a torrent of letters from readers. An unusually large number of them have come from Poltava. The overwhelming majority of these letters expressed firm support for the thesis stated in the headline and condemned the widespread provocation by the extremists from the Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Committee (UKhS), which was timed to coincide with the 280th anniversary of the Battle of Poltava.

The readers paid particular attention to the manner in which the nationalists prepared for and carried out this provocation. How hundreds of copies of inflammatory leaflets, concocted by the "UKhS press service", were distributed around Poltava. How the CIA's Svoboda radio station in Munich over the course of several days flooded the ether with the same inflammatory broadcasts, which were prepared on the basis of telephonic reports from its wards at the very same UKhS "press service". How at the conference and meeting of the Kiev organization of the Ukrainian Peoples' Movement for perestroika (NDU) the leader of the UKhS, V. Chornovil, delivered inflammatory speeches calling the whole nationalistic host to a new march on Poltava. And, finally, how on 5-9 July, UKhS "shock troops" from Lvov, Dnepropetrovsk, Kharkov, Chernigov, and Kiev

appeared in that city. The letters emphasized that all these facts, which are set forth in chronological order, are persuasive evidence of a perfidious intention to drive a wedge between the Ukrainian and Russian people and to provoke interethnic clashes.

While approving the decisive actions of the militia and the city's population, who prevented the latter-day admirers of Charles XII and Mazepa from establishing a "new Karabakh" in Poltava, the readers at the same time reasonably raised the question concerning the criminal responsibility of the organizers of the UKhS's felonious action.

A. T. Prasov, a veteran of war and labor, from Dikanka in Poltava Oblast wrote—"I demand that these cut-throats be punished to the full extent of the law to keep them from again organizing nationalistic provocations at the instigation of the West." V. B. Dashchenko from Poltava wrote on behalf of a group of his fellow teachers—"We support the demand of the majority of the residents in our city to institute criminal proceedings against the individuals, who deliberately provoked the disturbances". The very same demand was contained in letters from many other residents of Poltava.

What else can be said, it is a just demand. You see, we have laws which safeguard the security of our citizens and these laws must be enforced. For example, take article 66 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code, which defines the punishment for propaganda and agitation for the purpose of inciting national enmity. Can it be that the UKhS's Poltava action is not covered by the provisions of this article? Can it be that there is not enough proof and evidence? Can it be that there are no witnesses? Can it be that the names of the organizers of this action are not known?

Unfortunately, the public prosecutor's office in Poltava Oblast still has not answered these purely rhetorical questions from the newspaper and its readers. The UKhS provocateurs, who, in gaining favor with their masters at the foreign anti-Soviet broadcasting center, created over the course of a week an atmosphere of uneasiness and tension in the city with a population of 300,000, have remained essentially unpunished. And they are becoming patently insolent and are organizing nationalistic sabbaths in other cities, pelting those places with ever more aggressive "shock troops from Lvov".

Copies of the republic's MVD operations reports concerning the events, which took place in July and August in Kiev, near the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet building, are lying next to the letters from Poltava on our editorial desk. The republic's and cities' newspapers have already shed light upon individual episodes of this marathon of political rallies, but it seems worthwhile to briefly describe the entire course of events, beginning with that "stimulus" which caused these events.

2 July. A political rally took place in the square near Republican Stadium, which was organized by the sponsors of the NDU. We have already reported on the

provocative nature of many of the speeches at this rally (See PRAVDA UKRAINY dated 9 July). Now, let us dwell only on that moment when V. Yavorivskiy, the chairman of coordinating council of the Kiev organization of the NDU and USSR People's Deputy, read aloud a note, which he had received from someone at the rally, with a proposal to assemble near the republic's Supreme Soviet building "for the purpose of discussing the status of the Ukrainian language". Some time later, these words of V. Yavorivskiy resounded over the square: "I remind you! Every Sunday around 12:00 near the Parliament..."

9 July. It had already become clear by this Sunday that V. Yavorivskiy's "reminder" (in essence, it was an appeal for a violation of the legislation currently in force concerning the procedure for conducting political rallies and demonstrations) had been heard and taken to heart by the UKhS members and their "sympathizers". At 12:00 these people began to gather not far from the republic's Parliament building and at 14:00 they attempted to conduct an unsanctioned political rally near the entrance to the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet building.

16 July. At 12:30 the same individuals gathered at the same place. They were led by S. Naboka, Ye. Chernyshov, and L. Milyavskiy, the bosses of the so-called "Ukrainian People's Democratic League" (UNDL), which is a part of the UKhS. The participants in the unsanctioned demonstration seated themselves on the steps at the entrance to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and only after repeated warnings from government authorities concerning the illegality of such activities, did they move toward the center of Sovetskaya Square, where they held meetings until 17:00.

23 July. At the very same time the same individuals were in the very same place. The mob's participants disseminated UNDL leaflets, which were produced using a duplicating machine and which maliciously insulted the members of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission on the problems of interethnic relations and patriotic and international education, which had spoken out against nationalistic symbols. The leaflet also contained an appeal to conduct a hunger strike on 29-30 July, again in the same place near the parliament buildings, in support of the Zhovto-Blakitnyy flag and trident.

At 15:40 the impassioned "champions of national symbols" moved toward the gorispolkom and after stopping traffic along the Kreshchatik, they arrived there without hindrance. Only one of the organizers of this unsanctioned demonstration was punished: some time later D. Korchinskiy, a twenty-five-year-old former student was placed under administrative arrest for 15 days.

29 July. At 18:00 the "hunger strikers" from the UKhS—UNDL assembled near Mariinskiy Palace and after raising the Zhovto-Blakitnyy flag, they advanced to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet building. There Ye.

Chernyshov and other cutthroats again seated themselves on the steps. The "hunger strikers" responded with swearing to the repeated warnings from government representatives concerning the illegality of their actions. Ultimately the militia had to confiscate the illegally raised flag. The "hunger strikers" resisted this action and V. Storchak, an engineer and resident of Kiev, and R. Golovach, I. Pidkovych, and S. Radko, young people from Lvov, were detained. N. Kagarlitskiy, a writer, who was implicated in these events, was also detained. However, before long the sides "arrived at a compromise": the detainees were released and the "hunger strikers" moved to a public garden near Sovetskaya Square, where they held meetings for a good hour and a half longer advancing the slogans: "Shame on those who pay lip service to national symbols", "Free Dmitri Korshinskiy", and "Free and independent statehood for the Ukraine".

Subsequently, at the behest of USSR People's Deputy V. Yavorivskiy, the Kiev public prosecutor's office instituted a criminal case concerning the detainment of author N. Kagarlitskiy and the injuries that he received during that time.

30 July. The "hunger strike" continued until 18:00. Then one of the UKhS members announced that the "hunger strike" had ended. At that moment the Zhovto-Blakitnyy flags were raised and an attempt was made to walk to the center of Sovetskaya Square with them.

6 August. Once again the very same individuals were there—the embittered faces of the political rally habitués from the UKhS-UNDL and of like-minded members of the rukh movement. "When will this outrage come to an end?",—passers-by asked impatiently. The slogan "Bilingualism is duplicity" was particularly revolting to them. After all, this is a scurrilous insult to millions of our fellow citizens, who use both the Russian and Ukrainian languages. And at the same time it is also an insult to many thousands of US, Australian, and Canadian citizens, who practice English-Ukrainian bilingualism. The business of I. Dikiy, the twenty-five-year-old chairman of the Lotos cooperative, is "a child's prank" in comparison to this appallingly stupid and at the same time spiteful abuse. I. Dikiy sold badges with images of a trident and of a crossed out Ukrainian SSR state flag at this gathering.

13 August. The coordinating council of the Kiev organization of the Ukrainian Peoples' Movement defined the theme of this particular "Yavorivsky Sunday gathering" as a "protest" against the actions of the militia at previous "Sunday gatherings". Approximately one hundred UKhS activists and members of the nationalistic Plast youth organization (in Bandera's time a similar organization existed under the same name in the western Ukraine) arrived in the republic's capital from Lvov to participate in the "protest action". At 10:40 UKhS members and "Cossack infantrymen" from Lvov along with UKhS members from Kiev gathered under Zhovto-Blakitnyy flags near the monument on Vladimirska

hill. UKhS leaders L. Lukyanenko and B. Goryn told them about their own extensive travels in foreign countries and assured them that their intention to achieve the separation of the Ukraine from the USSR "is approved of in the West". Then M. Gavryliv, a Uniate priest, held mass. This was probably the first Catholic mass held at the famous monument to the ancient Russian prince Vladimir, who is considered a saint and the equivalent of an apostle by the Orthodox Church. After that the whole "mass"—the "Cossack infantrymen", UKhS members, and the members of the Uniate Church, brandishing Petlyurist flags, at first advanced down Vladimirska hill and then upwards along Kirova Street to the Supreme Soviet building.

And just at that time several hundred members of the rukh movement assembled there and V. Yavorivskiy, who had summoned them there, now suggested that they disperse, since the case concerning the detainment of N. Kagarlitskiy was being investigated and, strictly speaking, there was no need "to protest". The neo-Banderist "shock troops from Lvov" arrived at Mariinskiy Palace on time and reacted very wildly to the proposal of the chairman of the coordinating council. What?! Renounce the conducting of the intensive political rallies that is so dear to their hearts. Not on your life. In short, the nationalistic extremists began to shout "Shame on you" at the very same Yavorivskiy, who at earlier political rallies had ironically called into question the very existence of such extremists. Mistery L. Lukyanenko, B. Goryn, O. Shevchenko, N. Gorbai, Ye. Chernyshov, S. Naboka, and K. unceremoniously knocked the meeting mace out of his hands. This is the logical outcome of compromise and flirtation with nationalistic reaction.

Prior to 15:30 trident bearers raged in the square near the Supreme Soviet shouting "Occupiers, get the hell out" (one could also read this misleading and inflammatory slogan on some placards). Then they broke up into several groups and dispersed around the city. The largest group, the nucleus of which was comprised of all the "shock troops from Lvov" passed along the Kreshchatik, periodically raising and lowering the Petlyurist flags, and ascended to T. G. Shevchenko Park. From there they went to the railroad terminal. Before boarding the trains back to Lvov, O. Petriv, the ataman of the "Cossack infantrymen", reminded them that they should "decorate the coaches with national symbols" (of course without asking the other passengers whether such "decorations" would be acceptable to them).

23 August. There was an analogous nationalistic onslaught on the occasion the 50th anniversary of the signing of the 1939 Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact.

1 September. A similar neo-Banderist sabbath on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II.

As we have seen, the nationalistic reaction, which is developing in the republic, will use any occasion—from

the 280th anniversary of the battle of Poltava to the 50th anniversary of World War II, from the pace of the work on the draft legislation on language to provocative reanimation of the Petlyurist flag, treason, and pogroms—to create an atmosphere of constant political agitation.

It is significant that many surnames, which have already been mentioned in the documents of the Poltava Directorate of Internal Affairs, appear in the militia's reports concerning the events near the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet building: among the participants in the UKhS "march on Poltava" are included, for example, these participants in "Yavorivskiy's Sunday gatherings": O. Petriv, I. Pidkovych, N. Gorbal, O. Shevchenko, S. Naboka, Ye. Chernyshov, L. Milyavskiy... Apparently alot of the money to organize these provocative "shock troops" came from the Helsinki Watch Committee since this money has a noticeable smell of royalties from the Svoboda radio station for disinformation and inflammatory materials and the scarce goods, which were purchased with this money have a noticeable smell of contraband imports from abroad... And we shall reiterate: By remaining, for all practical purposes, unpunished, the nationalistic provocateurs are becoming patently insolent. Have you ever heard of such a thing? What civilized state would allow such excesses to occur at the walls of the highest organ of government—the Parliament?

We telephoned V. I. Shevchenko, the public prosecutor in Kiev, and asked him whether some other criminal proceedings had been instituted with regard to the excesses near the Supreme Soviet besides the case, which was mentioned in the press, concerning the detainment of author N. Kagarlitskiy. Vladimir Ivanovich stated that only a number of administrative proceedings have been instituted.

And during "Yavorivskiy's Sunday gatherings", acts were committed, which are covered by at least a dozen articles of the republic's criminal code. These are agitation for the purpose of inciting national enmity (article 66), disrespect for the State flag (article 187.2), organizing group activities which violate public order (article 187.3), resisting representatives of the government (article 188 and 188.1), publicly insulting representatives of the government (article 189 and 189.1), and involving minors in criminal activities (article 208)...

One should think that the residents of Kiev have a right to demand from the gorispolkom and the law enforcement agencies in the republic's capital more drastic measures for suppressing attempts to introduce an atmosphere of Zhyolto-Blakitnaya bacchanalia into the life of the city.

Ukrainian Nationalist Youth Camp in Lvov Area Revived

18110103a Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA
in Ukrainian 2 Sep 89 p 3

[Article by RADYANSKA UKRAYINA special correspondent M. Doroshenko, Lvov Oblast: "Stepan Bandera Lives On", or Adult Games of Half-Baked 'Scouts']

[Text] Historical note: the bourgeois-nationalist military-sports organization Plast [Scouts] was formed in Lvov in 1911-1912. Persons trained in this organization took active part in the armed struggle against Soviet rule in the Ukraine during the Civil War, and during the Great Patriotic War served in the Galicia SS division. In 1951 a regional congress in New York revived this organization within the World War II emigre community. Former Bandera followers exerted ideological and organizational influence on this organization.

But do the "Scouts" exist today in our republic? Residents of the small village of Palanyky, in Gorodokskiy Rayon, Lvov Oblast, came into direct contact with this phenomenon this past summer. On the outskirts of the village, near the woods, "plastuny" [Scouts; hist.: personnel of Cossack foot-soldier units; military scouts] took up residence in an unoccupied building and in several tents set up near the building. The newcomers were for the most part boys between the ages of 11 and 28, from Lvov and Novyy Rozdol, Drogobych and Nesterov, Kamensko-Bugskiy Rayon. Some would arrive by car, others by bus, while the majority—as many as 40 persons—would gather on weekends. Noisy ceremonies, morning formations at which the yellow-and-blue flag would be raised, aggressive behavior, and strolling through the village carrying batons ("We aren't going to touch you. We're going to beat up Russians with these batons"). Of course the residents of this hamlet and neighboring villages were not very pleased with such visitors or with the arbitrarily-established camp.

While illegally occupying kolkhoz property, the "Scouts" at the same time refused to help the kolkhoz at its busiest time. At first, it is true, they agreed to a request to help dry grain on the threshing floor—but all they did was stand around and do nothing. But on the following day they backpedaled: "They contacted headquarters, and the central leadership prohibited them from assisting the kolkhoz, for the Plast organization is campaigning against kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and Soviet rule."

Subsequently, when the local authorities were closing down the yellow-and-blue camp (even one of the tents and the traffic-control gate at the camp entrance were of these colors), the defenders of the insulted lads felt that the best course of action was "not to know" about these and other similar "Scout" views. Why, they said, are you picking on children, on innocent amusement? On their athletic and religious education?

Of course later, when it became obvious that anti-Soviet, nationalistic views were being indoctrinated at the camp, its organizers and sponsors had no recourse but to attempt to characterize the Gorodok "Scouts" virtually as a progressive unofficial organization which with its nontraditional methods was attempting to avoid the problems of drug addiction, alcoholism, violence, etc, which today are typical of the youth environment. Of course they made use of the sometimes appropriate and sometimes inappropriate theory about "conditions of democracy and pluralism," where "all this may not be to

somebody's liking, but who authorized this outright raid on the Boy Scout camp?" And anger and accusations were leveled not against the organizers of this illegal camp but rather at the authorities who closed it down. Acting according to the principle of "offense is the best defense," the sponsors and patrons of the "Scouts" even tried to raise a hue and cry about brutality, claiming that they had beaten several of the boys in the course of closing down the camp, although it was documentarily proven that the "Scouts" had been transported home to their parents and that no complaints had been lodged thereby.

Of course nobody is against a joint, common effort by all of society to counter the negative phenomena which have infected youth or is against seeking new approaches to this problem. The fact is that this is presently the directional thrust of educational efforts and restructuring of the Komsomol and Pioneer organizations. Such initiative is encouraged. But how can one sanction the innovations of the mentors of the "Scouts," when they openly, although unobtrusively—by means of ceremonies, customs, and Bandera "folklore"—were instilling nationalistic ideology and hostility toward Soviet rule in the minds of adolescents and even children?

One can agree that camp life included elements of children's games and recreation. It was the younger boys who were most taken by this exciting new adventure, with no inkling of the purpose of their "Scouting" experience. Among the older boys there are those who are still trying to find themselves, to establish their place in life. But no doubts whatsoever remain following frank statements made, for example, by camp director T. Malets (he is not enrolled in any school or employed anywhere) in a conversation with representatives of the authorities, the public, and Komsomol activists. He made no secret of the fact that the "Scouts" pursue a policy of opposing the present government and political system in the USSR and the Ukraine and advocate forming an "independent 'soborna' Ukraine." How is this to be accomplished? T. Malets perceives this struggle in the form of mass meetings, demonstrations, general strikes, and in parliamentary means, and not ruling out armed struggle as well.

The very name of the camp is also significant—"Roman Shukhevych Kurin" [kurin—military subunit of the Zaporogian Sech]. This khorunzhiy general [khorunzhiy—junior officer rank in Cossack forces] in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, also known as Taras Chuprynka, directly organized and led the bloody operations of the OUN gangsters on territory in the Western Ukraine cleared of German-Fascist occupation forces. He was killed in March 1950.

The organizational structure of the "Scouts" is also identical to that of the former UPA [Ukrainian Insurgent Army]—division into "kuren" and "royi" [riy—squad; corresponds to the council-troop-patrol structural hierarchy of the International Boy Scouts], with subordination to "central headquarters," and establishment of a

security service with the distinctive emblem of a red circle with black triangle, as well as other insignia and symbols....

Every day brings reports of new facts brought to light which are detrimental to our society. And it would seem that they have been engendered by the innocent and even noble intentions of newly-formed initiative organizations. But almost immediately one encounters irresponsible, extremist elements which, shouldering aside more modest leaders, dash to the forefront, pushing people to take destructive, dangerous positions.

Playing up to anti-Soviet, nationalist attitudes on the part of some unofficial organizations and societies has created so many points of stress and tension that we have become accustomed to listing them right out of the pages of the newspapers and from TV broadcasts. Does this not teach us anything? Is it not obvious that a different, more dangerous wave, following the froth of demagoguery, has risen to the crest of democracy? This wave contains elements which are precisely aware of what they want to achieve. They remained hidden not only in the stagnant Brezhnev era but also during the first years of perestroika. Now, however, a continuing surge has brought both anti-Soviet and Bandera elements to the surface. They are not dangerous as orators of this ilk—they do not represent a large force. But their appeals find support in the electrified, sometimes hard-to-control atmosphere of mass meetings. There occurs open "advocacy" of bloody "heroes" and actual encouragement of violence.

The following statement was made before thousands of people at an event held by Memorial in Ternopol: "They say that people were killed under the yellow-and-blue banner of the Bandera movement. And this was the right thing to do. They should have killed more!" Some people shuddered at this statement, while others near the speaker's platform shouted: "Right on!" At another mass meeting, in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, the "heroes" of these killings were honored with a minute of silence....

In an attempt to discredit today's state symbols, our opponents present comparative figures on persons killed under different colors. They say nothing, however, about the fact that the Stalinist repressions were carried out contrary to the goals and interests of the red banner. These repressions are condemned at all levels. In the ardor of attempts to revive Bandera attitudes, however, as we see, the bloody crimes perpetrated by the OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] followers are not condemned but even glorified. This is not surprising when you come to think of it, for those crimes were committed within the framework and in the spirit of an ideology of Ukrainian nationalism. Suffice it to mention the well-known Bandera slogan: "Our rule should be fear-inspired."

And how is one supposed to interpret the following verse, "playfully" intoned by members of the "Scouts":

Stepan Bandera still lives, Our heroes still live, The Russian will not long Be sleeping in peace.

Could these words and training in hand-to-hand combat techniques be part and parcel of a course of indoctrination for "Scouts," to wit: teaching of the Greek Catholic religion, the history and culture of the Ukraine, and raising of national self-awareness? A peculiar curriculum, one must agree, since these and similar verses and ditties were part of the camp's "schedule of activities," and yet there was no Taras Shevchenko, Lesya Ukrayinka, or Ivan Franko.... And yet the "Scouts" had printed copies of the first part of the memoirs of V. Maksymovych, a former member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, who served 10 years for Bandera crimes and who, after returning to Lvov, "distinguished himself" by stealing crystal from the Rayduha Production Association. Why would anybody read his memoirs?

Any illusions about such children's games are shattered once and for all if one considers who is behind them. The so-called Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Front is the organizer and ideological mentor of the "Scouts." Although the ranks of supporters of the UKhDF are thin, it has plenty of political ambitions. "Plast," the fighting body of the UKhDF, was directed by R. Chykalskyy, and he in turn was subordinate to V. Sichko. As for who V. Sichko is, many people are familiar what was reported about this in RADYANSKA UKRAYINA (on 19 August of this year). In his views he has taken a great deal from his father, former Bandera follower P. Sichko. Visitors from Canada and the United States accompanied V. Sichko on a visit to the "Scouts" outside Gorodok.

There is also reason to doubt innocent claims regarding the purpose of the "Boy Scout" camp as regards things that occur at mass meetings. People have noticed that activists of unofficial politicized organizations are escorted by what are obviously bodyguards, and with what precision, as if by unseen command, five-man teams of well-built youths move out and take up critical positions. Sometimes they also position themselves near officials of law enforcement agencies. What are they doing, keeping an eye on those who are responsible for keeping order in public places? Is this an alternative to the militia? Is this a kind of "security service," indications of which have been seen, in particular, in Kiev as well?

And who is it that forces the discussion at mass meetings, which could constitute a form of dialogue, from a constructive line to noisy shouting and reviling everything sacred? One notes in such cases how deliberately and calculatedly the crowd agitators and slogan shouter-prompters are positioned within the crowd. As soon as somebody shouts "Shame!," young "crowd rousers" "whip up" the throng in their "sectors" as if on command. Even a person who may be attending a mass meeting for the first time and who had no intention of shouting, considering such a thing to be inappropriate, finds himself involuntarily taking up the chants. It is

possible that some of these crowd organizers are products of the "Scouts." And is certainly true of those who undergo "appropriate" pre-rally training.

A Lvov samizdat publication—Poklyk Sumlinnya [Call of Conscience] (put out by the local Memorial organization)—discussed events relating to the "Boy Scout" camp. At the end of the article we read that "a provisional coordinating council convened in Lvov, containing representatives of all unofficial organizations as well as the Union of Writers of the Ukraine, the Cultural Fund, and artists. V. Sichko was also invited to address the council. The opinion was expressed that children should not be politicized, and particularly under the banner of Shukhevych. At the same time the council approved the text of a joint telegram of protest against the actions taken against them." The first conclusion sounds paradoxical within the context of the material—it portrayed the essence of the camp near Gorodok as far from "politicization" and stressed the educational and physical-conditioning mission of the "Scouts." In place of seeking grounds for a protest telegram, the publication chews out the authorities. As one sees from the article, the very actions to close down the illegal camp are attacked by the explicit title "Caution: Act of Provocation!"

Haven't they mixed up who should be getting the blame?

Kharkov Branch of Ukrainian People's Movement Formed

18110103b Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA
in Ukrainian 2 Sep 89 p 3

[Article by RADYANSKA UKRAYINA correspondent M. Bidenko, Kharkov: "Every Evening on Dzerzhynskiy Square"]

[Text] Once again, as in the spring, Kharkov is awirl with political events. Every evening mass meetings take place on Dzerzhynskiy Square. At these mass meetings for the most part members of the Vybory-89 [1989 Elections] committee speak out for and against the draft Law on Election of UkSSR People's Deputies and amendments to the UkSSR Constitution. But this is not the sole topic of discussion. The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, T. Gdlyan's speech at the Congress of People's Deputies, as well as other issues are debated. And a debate forum is in session in the young people's park in Kharkov's Kiyevskiy Rayon—the local rayon party committee has proposed a current political platform.

Sharp political debate is interspersed with statement of the position of official agencies toward the People's Front for Perestroika in the Ukraine. Since the time when establishment of this organization was announced, there has taken place a gradual shift from total rejection of its ideas to an understanding of its position. Of course this has been fostered by the constructive position on the part of the initiators of establishment of a Kharkov regional Rukh organization, who drew up an entirely reasonable draft plan. The Rukh coordination council

stated the following purpose of the regional organization: dismantling of the system of rule by bureaucratic administrative fiat and establishment of genuine democracy; establishment of political, economic, and cultural sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR within the framework of the USSR and within the international community; transformation of the UkSSR into a democratic state governed by rule of law, where free development of the individual is the principal condition for free development of society; consolidation of the principles of social justice; protection of the environment against predatory economic management by government agencies. The platform contains many additional principles, as well as draft bylaws, and organizational principles. Incidentally, there are also other draft bylaws as well.

The thinking of the city party organization has also unquestionably undergone transformation. An entire spectrum of views was presented at the most recent plenary meeting of the city committee. Some called for outright confrontation, while others argued in favor of consolidation of efforts in restructuring society. Constructive thinking emerged victorious in these difficult debates, which were given coverage in the newspaper *VECHIRNIY KHARKIV*.

The city committee demanded that party committees, bureaus, and all Communists resolutely oppose any and all activities aimed at undermining the socialist foundations of society, at igniting ethnic and racial hostility, and at preaching violence and immorality.

The city committee plenum also passed a resolution calling for uniting the efforts of party organizations as well as public and unofficial organizations on a platform of perestroika.

The enactment also articulated the possibility of participation by CPSU members in unofficial sociopolitical organizations for the purpose of implementation of party policy in these organizations.

This is a decisive and timely step. A constituent conference of the regional Rukh organization will be held today in Kharkov. What will this organization be in Kharkov Oblast, where both Russians and Ukrainians have lived for centuries, where Russian is spoken not only in offices but also at scientific establishments, theaters, and at the market, but where people also recognize their Ukrainian ethnic identity? The character and effectiveness of the organization's activities will now depend not only on its initiators but also on all persons taking part in perestroika, including party members.

Ethnic Strife in NKAO Caused By 'Opponents of Perestroika'

18310404A

[Editorial Report] Baku *KOMMUNIST* in Azeri on 19 August 1989 carries on page 1 a 1,900 word collective letter signed by a multinational group of industrial workers headlined "Let the Entire Country Hear Our

Voice: An Open Letter to the USSR People's Deputies." The letter deals with the ethnic conflicts in the NKAO and in the USSR in general. The workers write that "the causes behind the explosion of interethnic conflicts are not the specifics of national character, religious and moral-ethical principles, or historical resentments, but the purely egotistical interests of opponents of perestroika, general dissatisfaction about socio-economic conditions, and irritation with the slow pace of political and economic reform." They mention a number of issues which must be resolved before the Armenian-Azeri conflict is ended: Armenia's efforts to drive out non-Armenians; the finding of a "correct" solution to the refugee question; the need for a nonbiased investigation into the Sumgait riots and the murder of 42 Azeris in Armenia; the slanted approach to the issue taken by the central media; and a clear rejection of Armenia's claims to the NKAO.

People's Front Unable to Control Crowd Demonstrations in AzSSR

18310404B

[Editorial Report] Baku *KOMMUNIST* in Azeri on 25 August 1989 carries on page 4 a 600 word interview with N. A. Karimov, chief of the Baku MVD, who comments on the increase in crime as a result of the recent public demonstrations and strikes in Baku. "What complicates the situation is that at these demonstrations there are a number of groups spoiling for a fight, in particular refugees from Armenia, who are demanding that Armenians be driven out of Baku. Despite claims by the People's Front, they are unable to control the demonstrations." He cites a number of recent incidents involving the use of firearms and narcotics.

Armenian CP CC Accused of Fueling Ethnic Tension

18310404C

[Editorial Report] Baku *AZARBAYJAN MUALLIMI* in Azeri on 30 August 1989 carries on page 4 a 1,900 word article by Kamran Rahimov titled "In the Name of Wisdom and Perspective." Rahimov analyzes a resolution passed by the Armenian CP Central Committee on 20 August, claiming that "this document proves once again that maintaining and intensifying ethnic tension has been raised to the level of party and state policy in Armenia. If the Central Committee Buro genuinely wants to establish peace, and if it wants the Armenians in Azerbaijan to live in peace and prosperity as before, it will make sure that all refugees return to their homes, it will guarantee their security and future and will compensate for the agonies they have suffered. It must refrain once and for all from making territorial claims and stop interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign republic."

Georgian People's Front Members on Front Program, Ethnic Issues

18130004 Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO
in Georgian No 31, 4 Aug 89 pp 14-15

[Roundtable with People's Front Board members: "People's Fronters' Talk to Us"]

[Text] People's Front board members Nodar Natadze, Dzhanug Charkviani, Guram Gegeshidze, Koba Imedashvili, Nodar Tsuleiskiri, Zurab Kiknadze, and Guram Petriashvili were contacted by our correspondents and asked to answer several questions:

1. How do you envision the future activities of the People's Front?
2. Which changes and amendments introduced in the Program's final version do you consider most important?
3. What is your opinion of the morality of today's society?
4. What would you say about the situation in Abkhazia?

Nodar Natadze

1. The People's Front has no headquarters; we have taken temporary shelter in Cinema House. We have no government telephone at night and, often, in the daytime either. At present the People's Front has not been officially recognized as a legal entity. It does not have a seal and, most important, we need our own press organ and regular independent television broadcasts. For these reasons, we lack direct contact with the Front's members and the broad masses of the people. We do have intensive contact with the government; our relations are businesslike and, I think, promising. This does not mean that we will yield our position, nor does it rule out a polarization of opinion. Our dealings with things, specific aims, are not confined to having the People's Front be a mere maker of proposals. Our prime duty is to get things done, to make ideas a reality. We will be able to put every Front member to work, because if we plan and map out our cause properly we will need more people. But in the event that the government ignores our demands, the People's Front will resort to strong forms of protest such as strikes, and others even stronger—naturally, on the basis of majority opinion. We do not yet have a Duma which would, let's say, convene once a month and would consist basically of representatives from the rayons. As for relations between the sectorial commissions and the regional fronts—it is essential that such activities be concerted and well organized. The Congress, as the Front's Supreme Organ, has the right to change the structure of its composition.

2. As far as the changes in the final versions of the Program of action are concerned, the Congress took the initiative of requiring that functionaries (paid administrative staffers) not have the right to be elected to the

Front's leadership. Also the fact that the election of the chairman be within the competence of the Congress rather than the board.

3. "What your homeland needs most today is your good conscience"—this is a statement in the Appeal of the People's Front to Georgian young people. The morality problem today has overshadowed many other problems. The best of the Georgian people, of course, are ready to accomplish supreme goals. In general we have considerable ability to adapt, and hopefully the rest of society will overcome its own vices.

Every member of the Board of the People's Front was elected by the Congress for a particular motive or point of view. These motives are various. Individuals, of course, differ from one another. Everyone has the right to do good things. Everyone has the right to expect trust in advance. If he does not prove out later on, however, the people themselves will withdraw their trust of him. It is essential to define the work methods and sphere of interests of the People's Front, otherwise we will come up against many difficulties as time goes on. We cannot use just any old ways and means to accomplish our goal. Our actions must be based on moral criteria. The ultimate goal of the People's Front is to create not just a free but a democratic society.

4. As for the tragedy in Abkhazia, the crime itself is absolutely shocking—an armed mob attacked Georgians. It bears the same stamp as the incident in Marneuli a month earlier, where unarmed Georgians stood face to face with the armed enemy. On the basis of the 4 April Ukase, as you know, the Georgian population had all its registered hunting rifles confiscated. As a result, decent and law-abiding citizens went weaponless, because they didn't have any unregistered weapons. No blood was shed in Marneuli, but it certainly was in Abkhazia. Most of the guilty parties—corrupt bandits and murderers—remain unpunished to this day.

Dzhanug Charkviani

1. In the opinion of a wise and thinking man, the People's Front ought to be a means of rallying and uniting national forces. If it is to be truly "People's," every dedicated, noble, patriotic man must be empowered to take on the national yoke of the stalwart and fight for freedom....

The People's Front is a worthy champion of human rights. It will allow no one to oppress its homeland, its Georgia. The Abkhazians have also created a People's Front (Forum) under the leadership of writer A. Gogua. What they have created is an Anti-People's Front and have spilled the blood of their brothers, the blood of their innocent brothers. May God shame such a writer, his Front, and his Forum.

If the seed sown by the republic government on the national soil springs up for good, the People's Front will welcome it; if not, the People's Front will have its

say—national, unbending, unafraid, and, of course, in concert with the people and the Board.

If the People's Front only takes the role of a maker of demands, it will never accomplish its magnificent goal. To accomplish that goal the People's Front must unite all formals and informals—that is, the whole of Georgia.

2. The Program of the People's Front will probably need polishing; it is difficult to draw up such a document. It may be that all comparisons are inappropriate, but these past 70 years have shown us that any constitution is changeable from top to bottom. Of course, they used to teach us that it was "Stalin's Constitution," but it still proved to be changeable.

In principle I approve of the People's Front Program.

3. I'm not even sure I have the right to speak of the morality of today's society. We cannot define society's morality in terms of these tense days or even years. Society has been brought to the brink of insanity by the tide of mundane inhumane events. When human rights were ignored for 70 years and someone else did your thinking for you, what kind of society and what kind of morality could result? I'm glad we are not throwing stones, acting like wild animals and returning to the caves. Yet, since 9 April, we have come up against wild tribes twice now! I have always avoided such comparisons; now I do not.

I once saw an American film in which armed thugs were hunting unarmed men in the woods. That's just how it was in Sukhumi. I no longer have anything to do with wild "executors"; I deal with officials, such as Abkhazian Obkom Secretary Said Tarkil, CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy Party Committee Secretary T. Shamba, Abkhazian Writers Union Chairman and Abkhazian People's Forum Chairman Aleksii Gogua, Kabardino-Balkar People's Forum member and artist R. Tsrinov (and what was he doing in Sukhumi on that tragic day?), Gudauta Raykom Secretary Ozgan, and V. Ardzinba. It was they who shed the blood of Georgians and Abkhazians. It was they who egged on the members of Abkhazia's marauding bands. These are the people who should be called to account. (If, indeed, we do live in a law-governed state and laws are indeed in force.)

Every time something new happens, when things get stirred up, so-called "commoners" come out of the woodwork. It's that way now: many have taken cover in the "People's Front," some have got so crazy that their actions remind you of the atrocities committed at the dawn of bolshevism. Extortionists harass people and go so far as to start taking people's homes and lands away from them. We have failed to take care of the lands usurped by outsiders, and now they are persecuting Georgians, firing them from their jobs, and mocking and humiliating decent citizens. In short, the "People's Front" will have to fight on two fronts—the fight against our homeland's enemies, for decency, for human rights, and the fight against the "home-grown commoners." But I firmly believe that the People's Front will have its say.

As for opportunists worming their way into the People's Front, that happens too. A time of settling accounts is at hand in Georgia in recent years, it has continued to this day. If such people do not get out of the People's Front themselves and cannot distinguish morality from immorality, we are done for.

A man without rights is always thinking about rights, so that he is always subconsciously ready to fight to get them. Isn't this the goal the People's Front has set for itself? Georgian independence—just what every Georgian, all of Georgia is striving for. Georgians have that moral right.

Now let's talk frankly about whether we have the moral right to demand freedom. Of course we do. But it won't do to get impatient. The thing to do is to prepare, the thing to do is to totally mobilize Georgians' talents and abilities. I personally venture to say that I am ready for a free and independent Georgia, and there are many such, but is the whole of Georgian society ready to accomplish these goals? The answer to this must come from economists and jurists. At any rate, if we stand together, if we talk less and do more, we'll accomplish our goal. What can happen to us that is worse than what is happening today?

Only an independent Georgia can restore interethnic brotherhood in Georgia. It does not take a philosopher to understand this, and Abkhazians and others who have chosen enmity toward the Georgians need to be very clear on this.

Ah, we have returned love for hatred so many times, and what has come of it?

Georgia is in trouble today, more trouble than ever before.... Everyone wants to confiscate something. Never before have so many enemies risen up on all four sides, nor so many ingrates. Georgia today is curiously passive amidst all this turmoil; perhaps she is benumbed by all the unexpected greed and dishonesty. Who knows?

Now they've invented the "Turkish Meskhetians" (or "Meskhetian Turks"—they go by various names). Now they want to settle 400,000 plain and simple Turks in Georgia. That's what they want, but they're a little afraid themselves lest a new Turkish autonomy be established on the border.

Does anyone seriously believe that people were killing each other over some strawberries?

It was the same in Sukhumi. Does anyone really think all that bloodshed took place over a branch of the university? Does an out-and-out chauvinist really think that naively? No sir. Nothing on this earth just happens. The Great Ilia said, "Language, fatherland, faith," and if a man has none of these to show, how can we speak of Georgianity?

At first glance it may seem that my position in regard to the "Meskhetian Turks" is harsh. But if we find a few dedicated Georgians among those 400,000 Turks—even

a thousand who would die for their fatherland and come to us because Georgia's future needs true Georgians, and who would defend our poor homeland from the Turks and outsiders of all stripes, God knows I'd be ready to open my heart to them. Georgia will never say no to her children. That's my position in regard to this contrived and concocted issue.

As for the Abkhazians, they will come to their senses too, but unfortunately it will be too late. You build a house from the foundation up, not from the roof down. At any rate, I advise all reasonable Abkhazians first to establish a school system, an Abkhazian secondary school system, and then be concerned about a university. My God, are Georgians supposed to build that school system too?

Today I want to remind all Georgians and all Abkhazians that King David the Builder's sacred crucifix bore the following inscription: "O God, Father of all, exalt Thy crowned David, King of the Abkhazians and the Georgians, the Heretians and Kakhethians, the Sun of Christianity." Ah me, there was faith then, Abkhazians did not attack Georgians in that happy time.... These days, what can we do?

On the evening of 20 July, a woman pensioner appeared on television (we received the tape from Sukhumi), a Russian by nationality, who said indignantly: "If any of you don't want to live here in Abkhazia with us, be so kind as to get your tickets, get on the train, and go back to your own republic." So how come we still don't understand? What's the matter? When that Russian lady came down here to our country, if we had immediately bought her a return ticket, we'd be better off now. But maybe it's not too late?

Guram Gegeshidze

1. The People's Front is still in its formative—one might say its embryonic—stage, and just as the organization was being formed, so many troubles befell Georgia (troubles the People's Front is doing its best to resolve) that I find it difficult right now to predict its future activities or my place in the effort. Things will probably sort themselves out as time goes by. One thing is clear: the People's Front must unify the various groups in Georgian society and lead them in a unified manner to accomplish shared national goals. To do this it will be necessary to overcome and resolve immediate or long-term national problems of various kinds, but exactly how the People's Front will manage to deal with these issues is not as yet entirely clear, especially considering the fact that as of today it does not even have its own press organ. Moreover, innumerable political, social-economic, demographic, and ecological problems are coming to the forefront in Georgia, and the desire alone is not enough to resolve these problems. What is needed is concerted action on the part of the various organizations. Many people may have the desire, but the accomplishment of any goal requires knowledge, talent, and ability—qualities which, unfortunately, many of our well-intentioned people do not have. We won't get far with

empty declarations and cliches, yet we don't have very many people who can get things done. We talk too much and do too little.

In my opinion, the People's Front needs to have close contacts with official leadership despite the fact that the official leadership has rather disgraced itself in the eyes of the public. There is no need at this point to go into the detailed causes of this. Obviously, I find it difficult to say what kind of contacts we should have. It may be that in some cases the People's Front will have to play the role of a "maker of demands." But inasmuch as the People's Front is endeavoring to unite all the forces of society in order to gain the republic's sovereignty and independence, it is quite likely that in many cases the Front will act as a political opponent to the official leadership. The national revival in today's Georgia has generated more interest in social life, and this must be taken into account by officials. In my opinion, the time when anyone could do what he wished and pay no attention to public opinion is now past. What I mean is, persons in positions of official leadership are "getting their wings clipped" and can no longer act in a high-handed manner. This circumstance is annoying to the officials and is making them hostile to both the People's Front and any other organizations now fighting for the national revival in Georgia. In spite of this, however, the People's Front must find ways to bring the opposing forces together so that, through rational action, we can consolidate the whole nation. Otherwise we will fall into the abyss whose brink we already stand upon.

Everyone must do his job on a high professional level and, in addition, find other ways to contribute to any national-social undertaking.

2. During the final editing of the text of the Program, even during the drafting process, there is much that may be subject to revision, polishing, re-thinking. To me the Program is not a dogma; it can be changed in accordance with specific circumstances. Membership in the People's Front means sharing its basic principles.

3. A year ago, my opinion of the morality of today's Georgian society was rather modest. I have always believed, nevertheless, that it is possible to awaken a people's national consciousness all at once, by means of a revolutionary explosion and not just by gradual evolution. The well-known events of last November confirmed my belief, and those days in April redoubled my faith in my people. But events since then have given me much cause to worry. To my surprise, the national movement started to come out with unthinking, disorganized actions instead of concerted effort; insidious (and unfortunately traditionally Georgian) tendencies of splitting apart and opposing one another. Subjectivism and egocentrism have yet to be eradicated from our consciousness. All of this makes it impossible for me to assert that the Georgian people are morally and intellectually ready to fight for freedom. We must not forget that the phenomena that have brought Georgia to its deplorable predicament today have yet to be eradicated. How

can we speak of moral cleansing in view of the fact that since 9 April there has been an increase in the number of remarkably brutal murders among young people over trivial, mundane disputes. Obviously, immoral individuals like that are incapable of dedication to the struggle for national interests. Young people themselves must get rid of those traitors to their people, those back-stabbers who destroy our faith, our hope, and our national consciousness. No mercy should be shown to them; characters like that ought to be stripped of the right to live in Georgia forever. I have said many times that a society which tolerates murderers, bribe-takers, and corruption is morally degenerate. If we want to serve sacred causes, we must be clean in spirit. We simply cannot tolerate it for someone who has sold Georgian lands to stand alongside Georgian patriots holding a flag in his hands.

The Georgian people crave freedom and independence; they want to guide their own destiny. It is a supremely just demand, but terrible battles lie in store to accomplish it. The Georgian people are not lacking in courage and dedication, but they need better organization. We have got to stop bickering over petty things; we have got to learn to listen to one another before we make any decisions; we have got to harmonize the various organizations and associations operating in Georgia today. If we can't do that, we will never accomplish our goal.

As far as the composition of the People's Front Board is concerned, it is, of course, diverse. Not everyone, of course, enjoys the same authority in the eyes of the public, but I firmly believe that everyone is ready to do his utmost for the cause of our people. This is my impression so far. I doubt very much that any casual or opportunistic people can worm their way onto the Board of the People's Front.

Here is my opinion about the repatriation of the so-called "Turkish Meskhetians": those who act like Georgians, who consider themselves Georgians, those who wish to serve Georgia selflessly, are people we welcome. Those who consider themselves Turks ought to find somewhere else to settle.

4. I spent some of my happiest years of childhood and youth in the home of an outstanding Georgian intellectual whose wife was an Abkhazian. I considered this woman, who is no longer living, to be like a mother to me, and I remember her kindness and concern with great affection to this day. In that family I used to meet representatives of the Abkhazian intelligentsia and aristocracy, whose affection and warmth I remember well. They were fervent patriots of a united Georgia, so that I have never had any thoughts about any differences between us. To me, Abkhazians are just as much a part of our people as the Meskhetians, the Mingrelians, Svans, Adjarians, Kakhetians, and so on. Exactly when this rift and confrontation between Georgians and Abkhazians started, and by whom, is no secret. The Abkhazians got caught on the hook of our common enemy rather easily. This seems to me that today's Abkhazians have gradually

separated from the cultural and historical traditions that nourished previous generations of them. I'm firmly convinced that it will bring them no good, and it is very distressing that they cannot perceive this. The Abkhazians are clearly on the brink of extinction, whereas drawing closer to Georgian culture (instead of drawing apart) could become the foundation for the Abkhazians' salvation, the further development of the Abkhazian language, history, and culture. Let us also keep in mind that Georgian blood flows in the veins of many Abkhazians today. They hotly deny it, but all they have to do is take a good look at their surnames and family pedigrees. Dimitri Gulia used to say, "We have built our culture under the same skies and on the same earth; together we have defended our national identity and our land. It is not enough for us to say that we are brother nations; we are nations of the same mentality, the same customs, the same laws, the same psychology. I don't believe Georgians have any brothers closer than the Abkhazians, Abkhazians feel the same about Georgians, and that brotherhood has saved us. Whoever dismantles that brotherhood is, in Rustaveli's words, "His own worst enemy" (MNATOB, No 10, 1974). Today, it appears, Abkhazians have forgotten this admonition by the man who founded their literature. By their repulsive, barbaric actions of recent days, the Abkhazians have become their own worst enemies, and it may be that it will turn out badly for their future.

Members of Georgian People's Front Explain Their Stand

18130005 Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO
in Georgian No 32, 11 Aug 89 pp 13-15

[Roundtable with People's Front members: "People's Fronters' Talk With Us"]

[Text] People's Front Board members Koba Imedashvili, Nodar Tsuleiskiri, Zurab Kiknadze, and Guram Petriashvili were contacted by our correspondents and asked to discuss the following questions:

1. How do you envision the future activities of the People's Front?
2. Which amendment or change in the Program's final version do you consider the most important?
3. What is your opinion about the morality of today's society?
4. What do you think of the situation in Abkhazia?

Koba Imedashvili

1. The People's Front needs to be there whenever Georgia is in trouble; it needs to be wherever Georgia is threatened by enemies—no matter who the enemy may be, whether a clumsily disguised "friend" or unmasked brother, refugee guest or home-grown traitor. The People's Front must act on all levels of reality, using every means available, in every and all spheres of national life,

whether social, political, economic, moral, intellectual, or what have you. When I say "every means," I mean lawful means, such as active dialogue and cooperation with the authorities or, if necessary, uncompromising confrontation. It depends on what best promotes the national interests, where, and when.

Another thing: We must endeavor to prepare the community for life in an independent state. I am referring primarily to moral-political readiness, such that every individual, by making independent choices and carrying them through, might take active part in guiding not only the Georgia of today but also the free Georgia of tomorrow.

The scope of our activity basically encompasses influencing society's morality and thinking, using its help exclusively to influence the circumstances in which every one of us exists.

Nevertheless, life inexorably changes all our intentions; a sad example of this can be seen in the events that have befallen us since 26 June. I am referring to Lower Kartlia, and then Abkhazia.

Hence, the tasks everywhere are huge, tasks of various kinds and varying importance, and everyone in the People's Front is working on them.

We will do anything to make things work out. It is surprising and wonderful to note that there are all kinds of people willing to volunteer, work, and help out.

To tell the truth, I was rather surprised at this readiness that sprang up among the people to labor for their country, and if our enemies think they have us by the throat at this critical point in history, they are mistaken. When an ex-convict, an uneducated man, and an academician or deputy can all stand together in the nation's defense, they cannot be defeated. Our enemies better know this.

It is a great honor for me to be an ordinary soldier in that effort, and I will do the best I can to advance our common cause.

When these crises have passed, we will have time to work calmly and intensively in the commissions which have been created but are not yet actually functioning. Real professional-quality work will be needed, and I will work according to my specialty; until then I will do whatever is necessary at the moment.

2. It seems to me that the chief and most important proviso of the Georgian People's Front Program is this point: "The Georgian People's Front is a social-political movement of all the people. It is called upon to resolve the critical national and social problems facing Georgia, and its ultimate goal is to create a free and democratic society, to restore Georgia's complete state independence."

3. The time of the country's and society's revolutionary perestroika is now upon us. A time like this always

brings to light not only a country's woes but also those persons most dedicated to their country. The same era, however, also brings the dregs up from the bottom, and a national movement should not be judged on the basis of such people. Especially considering the fact that, after 70 years, our society's morality is on a rather low level, and it is not only a regrettable but also an expectable fact that riff-raff will "jump on the bandwagon." I must therefore request that all institutions and leaders not consider anyone to be our representative unless they have been specially checked out and recommended by the People's Front. Society has always had its drifters and opportunists and always will. It is difficult to insure ourselves against them, and I have no recipe for combating them. But if you are honest, righteous, and principled, opportunists and drifters won't last long. In the same way, if the movement is honest, righteous, and principled, drifters and opportunists won't feel comfortable in such a movement.

One thing is certain: there are many more worthy than unworthy people in the national movement. Nevertheless, there is still a great deal to do to achieve the goal the People's Front has set for itself—THE RESTORATION OF GEORGIAN STATE INDEPENDENCE. We aren't ready yet, and by that I don't mean so much in terms of economy as in terms of individual and society. We must prepare ourselves and the people to be able to determine our destiny and run our own country.

From this standpoint, all of us are still rather hampered, hence we have a great deal to learn and to teach.

Now as regards the Turks and the Meskhetians (or Georgians)—because there is no such thing as a "Turkish Meskhetian" in nature. That is a term concocted by our enemies to confuse us and the world community. And it is a moral problem too.

Certainly the deportation of people to Central Asia from Meskhetia in November 1944 (also from Armenia, the Crimea, and the North Caucasus) was an inhuman act, and by doing it Stalin inflicted one more unhealed wound on us Georgians. Of the 125,000 deportees, 35,000 died en route and in the following year, 1945. It was a barbaric atrocity.

Georgia and the Georgians have never forgotten their lost sons. Over the years, our intelligentsia has been fighting to bring back the deported Meskhetians. And they have brought some back, although not always in the necessary and desired manner. Now the treacherously designed and maliciously executed events of Fergana, followed by Lower Kartlia and Abkhazia, have revealed the nature of the problem—the forces of Panislamism and imperialism want to suppress and destroy Georgia.

We are now standing at the brink, and until the situation has been radically corrected, until the homeless Adjarians have been given houses, we don't have the resources for the mass repatriation of even those Georgians who consider themselves Georgians rather than Turks. But for people whose national consciousness is Turkish,

GEORGIA'S DOOR MUST BE CLOSED FOREVER. We can't afford to allow the Panislamic and imperialist forces to accomplish their evil designs.

Those who consider themselves Georgians will understand our difficulties and give us time. We will never leave our own people unprotected. The only ones who are importuning us now are those who are alien to Georgia's national interests.

The only thing is, people are hurting there in Central Asia, both Georgians and non-Georgians—human beings. And as Christians, we can never forgive ourselves if we do not reach out a helping hand to them. **THEY NEED TO KNOW THAT WE HAVE NOT ABANDONED THEM, THAT THEIR PAIN IS OUR PAIN. BUT WE ARE IN WORSE TROUBLE NOW, GEORGIA IS IN WORSE TROUBLE.** Georgia is being harassed by her enemies on all sides, and our unfortunate brothers must give us a little more time.

Time will pass, and if we all do our part Georgia will emerge from this crisis and eventually gather all her sons and daughters back to her bosom, no matter where they may be—Fereidan, Russia, or Central Asia.

The main thing is that none of this must conflict with Georgia's national interests. It is essential that anyone who returns to his homeland live and breathe the interests of Georgia.

Hence, we must neither give in to Turcophobic hysteria nor allow ourselves to be trampled on. There is a problem. A difficult problem. We must study it, find the path that is appropriate for us and our national interests, and take that path.

It must be a humane, Christian path.

4. The Abkhazian crisis is both complicated and simple. It is a complicated thing to settle but simple in its essence.

The Gudauta newspaper asks, Does anyone believe that 100,000 Abkhazians attacked four million Georgians? It is difficult to believe, of course, but when you consider that imperial forces stand behind the 80,000 (not 100,000) Abkhazians, it turns out that the Georgians are once again in the role of a small nation. In this case, the Abkhazians—or the Abkhazianized people (more accurately, a portion of them) serve merely as a cat's-paw.

A cat's-paw who has been instilled with hatred toward the Georgians and hypertrophied notions about its own history by its own pseudo-intellectuals and outsiders (consider the claims of Kudryavtsev and Ashkhatsava, who assert that the Georgian alphabet once belonged to the Abkhazians!). In accordance with the imperial strategy, those who have lost their own language want to clear the Georgians out of the territory of Abkhazia, while the takeover of that territory—just like Sochi—will go to someone else. Can't the Abkhazians see that? At least those Abkhazians who really love their homeland

and care about its future? I do believe that such Abkhazians exist, but they are being kept silent. They are the ones with whom we must engage in dialogue. Only with them. As for the murderers, provocateurs, and agents for others, the law ought to speak to them. I don't understand why Soviet laws have ceased to be enforced in Abkhazia. I don't understand why the law enforcement organs have failed to "perceive" the blatant, un concealed, impudent antisocial and anti-state processes taking place in Abkhazia and in Lower Kartlia. We also deserve an answer from the KGB [Committee for State Security], the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. How come the violence that was unleashed against Georgians inside and outside of the republic caught the Georgian SSR by surprise? Who was it that disarmed the Georgian people in accordance with the 4 April Georgian SSR Council of Ministers ukase, when all the hunters had their rightful weapons taken from them yet the non-Georgian population in Abkhazia and Lower Kartlia were stockpiling arms unimpeded? The Georgian people not only demand that the Abkhazian and Azerbaijani extremists be punished and be made an example, they also demand an answer to these questions and punishment for all Georgians or non-Georgians who could not or did not do their duty, who could not or did not provide protection, and could not or did not govern the republic.

The Abkhazian separatists and their instigators, themselves the oppressors, have done their dirty work so as to make us out to be the oppressors of the Abkhazians, the Turkified Meskhetians, and the Azerbaijanis. At this point, then, in terms of discrediting us, the forces of pan-Islamism and Russian imperialism, which are usually opposed to one another, are working together like clockwork and have made us, the victims, out to be the criminals. But time and history will finally call everything by its right name. And we must have our say. The main thing, now, however, is for all of us together—the people, government, the People's Front, and the various parties and societies—to work harmoniously to defend Georgia's integrity. We must not only pass what our ancestors bequeathed to us onto our own posterity but also make us stronger and free. This is our generation's duty to God, our country, and history.

Nodar Tsuleiskiri

Let's begin with the fourth question, what I think about the situation in Abkhazia. Well, let's see.... The situation in Abkhazia is such that it's hard to comment. What should we say? In general, stating, writing, and reading an opinion has lost all meaning. Engage in dialogue, they say. But with whom? What kind of dialogue can you have with murderers? They are guilty of a crime, and we should speak to them as we speak to criminals. When those people have been punished to the full extent of the law for committing an especially brutal mass murder, when we see in the papers that the sentence has been carried out, only then does it make sense to engage in dialogue, to discuss who the Abkhazians are, where they

came from, what Abkhazia was historically, and how present-day Abkhazia relates to it.

Today, the Georgian people's patience is exhausted. We are waiting for the truth to be determined, for the guilty to be exposed—who fired the first shot in Abkhazia, the name and creed of this evil doer. Why hasn't his name been announced publicly, why don't they show us his photograph on television? Who are the people who attacked the Sukhumi branch of the Ivane Dzhavakhi-shvili Tbilisi State University and the young people and their teachers assembled there? Why haven't their names been published in the press?

Who attacked the hospital that night? History has never witnessed such barbarity. Armed bandits wiped out innocent, unarmed people, wounded them, cut them down, and chased them into the hospital, where the doctors wouldn't even help the wounded. Not even the fascists committed that kind of act. Are these supposed to be the heirs of the Sharvashidzes?! Impossible! They couldn't even be CHACHBAS—what they are is KIZIL-BASHES, and they mightily resemble the bandits of Marneuli and Dmanisi, who rode about in BelAZ trucks armed with automatic weapons.

Dear old friends and brothers, who are now murderers! Freedom is not won by the power of Satan. Bandits roving around in BelAZ trucks do their people no good. Bandit-like, gangsterish struggle is not a national struggle. A person with an automatic weapon in a BelAZ truck, whether in Marneuli or Gudauta, is a typical Soviet thief and murderer, nurtured on pan-Islamism, who hitherto ran a bazaar stall, stole things, wheeled and dealed, made skillful use of Soviet lawlessness, dealt in speculation, rubbed and stole, got rich and violent, bought a BelAZ, bought an automatic weapon, acquired power via stolen money and concealed goods, got in the truck and tried to take over other people's land completely. Why not!? After all, you can take over the whole world under the banner of internationalism!

The government has got to do more. The murderers must be brought to justice and the people promptly informed. Otherwise we can expect strikes, disorders, and—most important—more bloodshed. All this injustice is more than human beings can stand!

According to the press, nearly all the fatalities in Abkhazia were Georgians. Georgians are still being apprehended and their weapons confiscated. In interviews, the commanders of MVD troops brought in to restore order have threatened to impose a curfew in districts of western Georgia—that is, on Georgians again.

Yet non-Georgians armed with automatic weapons are roving all over Georgia and killing Georgians....

Georgia is a classic land of peoples' friendship. No one had to teach the Georgians to be internationalists. The friendship between the Georgian and Jewish peoples is a classic example, from the ancient "And the Jews of Mtskheta did bring the Tunic of the Lord" to the present

day, when the Georgian Jewish community in Israel has done unprecedented, unheard-of deeds.

In the same way, Georgian-Armenian brotherhood, based on a shared Christianity, has remained firm and steadfast to the present day.

The friendship, brotherhood, and affection of the Georgians and Ossetians are recorded in the Georgian chronicles.

In addition to all that, the Georgian people have declared their friendship even for their historical enemies—"The Tartar is my brother too"—and thus ended the eternal conflict with the Mohammedan world. (Georgians call all Moslems "Tartars.")

Among the peoples of the Caucasus, the Georgian people's brotherhood with the Abkhazians has always been something special. Georgians have always considered Abkhazians "their own." All of western Georgia was called Abkhazia, "unto the borders of Chaldea."

"Simon the Canaanite," says Giorgi Mtatsmindeli as chronicled by Giorgi Khutsesmonazoni, "LIES BURIED IN THIS OUR LAND ABKHAZIA, which is called Nikops." Hence, "in this our land" is the way it was in history, in the past, as the Georgians and Abkhazians have been together since ancient times and together have traversed all the centuries of Christianity.

As I repeat Giorgi Khutsesmonazoni's words "In this our land Abkhazia," I am not thereby taking anyone's homeland from him, nor am I invading Abkhazia with automatic weapons as the Abkhazian terrorists are. It appears from the above quotation, incidentally, that Giorgi Mtatsmindeli didn't have that in mind either, otherwise he would have said, "in this MY land." What he said was "our land," and indeed Abkhazia has been "this our land." The titles of the Georgian kings began with "King of the Abkhazians." Should all of this be forgotten? Ignored?!

Today's Abkhazian terrorists couldn't care less about the past. They have taken up the gun and killed their brothers just for the sake of gain, to live an easy life.

However, Georgia has always been a classic land of revenge as well, and let no one forget it! Blood atonement and death by stoning have been recorded here as late as the 1930s. Revenge is just as human an emotion as forgiveness—or, if you will, friendship. Revenge is a developed instinct of justice. Sometimes, justice can be achieved through revenge.

Retribution is no less a relief for man than pardon or forgiveness. So strong is this primordial passion that it is even embodied in the laws of civilized society. And the death penalty is an expression of retribution, of just revenge, for deliberate murder.

The ancient sense of just revenge is by no means alien to today's Georgians; the injustice that has been visited upon us has awakened the primordial instinct, and

embittered Georgians have begun to look for weapons. The first signs of revenge are the attacks on weapons storehouses and militia buildings, demanding guns and ammunition and preparing for battle. But you can hardly blame our countrymen. We have got to stand up to people. Barbaric fighting has never been characteristic of the Georgian nation. The Georgian people have been brought up on the holy books of the Mtatsmindelis, on epics like "The Knight in the Panther's Skin." Georgians cannot climb into a BelAZ truck and fire automatic weapons at Abkhazians.

Our revenge will be lawful. The guilty must be punished under the law, publicly, before the people. We must not only condemn and punish the murderers—we must create an atmosphere of intolerance, alienation, and revulsion against them. We must employ glasnost against them; we must tell all of Georgia who they are, whose sons and relatives they are, where they live and work.... We must make the earth burn under the feet of their progeny and their kin; they must be made ashamed to show their face! They must be made to walk the earth in eternal penitence!

And now, the other questions.

1. It's hard to predict the future activities of the People's Front. The political situation in Georgia is changing very rapidly, with a new political situation almost every day. The work of the People's Front must be conducted accordingly, hence it is almost impossible to map out a plan in advance. Perhaps it won't be that way for long, and the activities of the People's Front will become more precisely defined. The People's Front was formed at my suggestion at one of the general meetings of the Writers Union; at least, it was founded at that meeting and the first initiative group was formed.

At the time we thought that we would unite our national forces, all of society, all of the informals, that we would gather all our patriots together and would guide the national movement in one direction. But I must say frankly that we were thwarted....

Nevertheless, the People's Front was founded thanks to Nodar Natadze's firmness, steadfastness, and faith. It was only a foundation, however. In my opinion, a real People's Front will have to be created gradually. The People's Front should encompass all of Georgia, every nook and corner, every village, every enterprise, every association, and only then can it be called a People's Front.

I think it is quite realistic for us to put every member of the Front to work, because that is the main purpose of the People's Front. The grass-roots cells should be so powerful that local bureaucrats will tremble in fear. Every People's Fronter must be a fighter for justice. When right is on your side, when you tread the path of righteousness, no one can stop you. The national struggle, and the national movement in general, must be guided by supreme justice, objectivity, and honor.

I wouldn't even want Georgia's freedom if it were gained by unjust, dishonorable means.

So far, my own personal contribution to the People's Front has been very modest. I haven't been able to keep step with the Fronters, nor have I found my "niche," a way to do fruitful work. I am losing time, but soon, no doubt, I'll find my place and play a definite role.

Is it the case that the sectorial and regional structures of the People's Front are in conflict with one another? No, they are not.

2. All of the changes introduced into the Program are of more or less equal importance.

3. To the extent possible, I have stated my views on the morality of today's society in my works. Recently, moreover, the students' journal in Abkhazia, TSKHUMI, published an interview with me in which I answered that question. I was being interviewed by L. Akhaladze, the editor of the journal, and I met with other staffers as well. I don't know if they are alive today—they might be lying wounded in the hospital!

This is the answer I gave to that question in the student journal: "In 1917 we rejected God and, along with Him, we rejected the Christian moral code that was developed through the centuries by civilized mankind. We created nothing in its place except communist morality. And communist morality, unfortunately, turned out to be immoral. And what we got was an immoral society."

I don't know for certain which persons in the People's Front might be opportunists; what I do know is that no one knows. Questions of that sort hurt relationships, make people tense, and will not lead to the truth.

You have said that not everyone has the right to speak in the name of the people. And you're right! But who can determine who is to speak in the name of the people and who is not? Who can judge?

The People's Front and, in general, all the "fronts" in Georgia now have the goal of securing Georgia's political and economic independence. The Georgian people, I think, are ready for it. They don't want to achieve it by bayonets, however, but peacefully, gradually, by agreement, by parliamentary means.

My position with regard to the repatriation of the Turkish Meskhetians has always been quite simple and concrete: **TURKS MUST NOT BE REPATRIATED; MESKHETIANS MUST BE REPATRIATED.** I have never held any other position, and never will.

If this distinction is one that cannot be made today, then for the time being we must also reject the Meskhetians because we don't even have enough land for the Svans and Adjarians who have been evacuated from the disaster zones.

Consider this anguished, hopeless letter from a number of mothers of many children in Adjara. The letter was addressed to His Holiness Ilia II, the Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia.

"Adjara is our blood, our hearts, our wealth. Adjara is everything we have on earth. Our whole village decided that one member of every family shall remain in Adjara; you can settle the others wherever you wish. I, Angelina Shainidze, for example, have 12 children, and I will send 11 of them to any part of Georgia. But let me keep one at home, here in Kobuleti or Khelvachauri rayon, give us a cozy home somewhere." Signed by 36 Hero Mothers in the name of all the workers of Tsablani, Batumi, Makhindzhauri Town, Narindzhi holiday resort.

It is a heartbreaking letter. A saddening picture. Large Georgian families with many children are huddled temporarily in a vacation resort. They don't know where they will go, when they will be given housing, whether they will lose their beloved Adjara or not. They beg us to allow them to keep at least one family member home, in their native Adjara....

We keep begging the raykom secretaries of Marneuli, Bogdanovka, and Akhalkalaki rayons somehow to find shelter for the homeless. But they won't give us our lands without a fight; they lodge protests and hold rallies and meetings against settling the Svans and the Adjarians.

The great Mikheil Dzhavakhishvili's prediction has come true: THE GEORGIAN NATION HAS BECOME DZHAKO'S LANDLESS TENANTS!

Zurab Kiknadze

1. The Georgian People's Front had to make its first statement at midnight the day it was founded. All of the problems which the Congress set forth in the Program that was adopted were shadowed by the Marneuli incident, which is still continuing and, I think, will go on a long time.

As long as Georgia is dependent on an outside power, the People's Front must endeavor to use its own forces to establish peace and harmony in the land. The Front does not think that its activities should be in opposition to the authorities. The Program states clearly that it is to act within the framework of the existing constitution and legislation. At this stage, clearly, the Front's seal cannot replace the seal of the real government. The Front must always endeavor to get the government to place the seal of approval upon the Front's just cause, to the extent that the Front's seal is insufficient, but perhaps in the future the time will come when the Front's seal alone will have force.

What will the Front do if the government, the authorities, pay no attention to its just demands? The Front will continue to insist on those demands. Eventually it will acquire the attributes of authority—more accurately, by means of its deputies it will take part in the country's government and management.

As it has developed, the People's Front is a democratic movement—probably more democratic than any party, however independent it may be. No member of the Front is linked by any strict obligations to the movement—except honesty and loyalty to the national cause. The Front does not have any secret agenda participated in only by certain ones. Every member of the Front acts in accordance with his own talent and interests. The Front itself asks nothing of anyone; every citizen offers his service to the Front (something we witness every day). Participation in the Front should reveal a person's unconscious, slumbering talents; participation in the Front should enable a person's free will to unfold. All of this should reflect N. Natadze's statement about getting everyone maximally involved.

2. The Front's Program was fleshed out, polished, and made more precise during the Congress, through the free will of the participants. It can be stated, therefore, that the present Program is the Congress's creation. Although the draft has remained basically unchanged, no fundamental problems have been added either.

It seems to me that those sections of the People's Front Program which have to do with full reinstatement of the civil rights of the Orthodox faith in Georgia are not only reflective of the Front's correct position but also constitute restoration of historical justice, in which a *secular* national movement solemnly acknowledges before God and the nation the historical importance of the Orthodox religion (and not just Christianity in general) to the life of the Georgian nation, to the ethnogenesis of the Georgians as a Christian nation, and the vital necessity of its restoration to the nation's future. This should give us hope that the government of a free Georgia will also be guided by this principle.

3. The Georgian People's Front is the child of today's Georgia and, hence, is neither better nor worse than Georgia. If today's Georgian community has succeeded in creating the People's Front by the authority vested in it, in which the Georgians look with hope upon the movement to realize their ideals, it has thereby already confirmed its moral existence.

The Front will only be able to get rid of opportunists in its midst if membership on its Board or Duma confers no privileges over anyone else, if the sense of duty dominates personal ambition. The structure of the Front must provide these conditions.

Who has the right to speak in the name of the nation? It is not a right a man may give himself. From time to time a charismatic person may emerge from the people's midst who is able to speak in the name of the people ("I speak with God that I may lead the nation"). This gift (charisma) will not be hidden. As for false spokesmen, like the false prophets of old, they are easily "bought," hence they pose no threat to the people's movement. Their word is transitory.

The apprehension evoked by the term "Meskhetian Turks" should not be a sign of Georgians' moral degeneracy. This ugly term was concocted for the particular purpose of whoever concocted it. The Georgian people must not take the bait. They must not kill the sheep for fear of the wolf. It is unfortunate that a large percentage of the public has quite unjustifiably condemned the Ilia Chavchavadze Society for the traditional, true Georgian position the Society has taken in regard to repatriating the Meskhetians to Georgia. If Georgians wish to be a Christian nation, the People's Front, which professes Orthodoxy, must do the same thing as the shepherd who left his ninety and nine sheep and went to seek his one lost sheep, found it, returned, and joyfully told the others: "Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost" (Luke 15:4-6).

If the Georgian nation hopes for independence, it must also hope that it can heal the broken national consciousness of the Meskhetians who have been cut off from their homeland, and with them fill out, at long last, its diminished body.

4. Another hot spot has developed, in the literal meaning of that term. Something has happened in Abkhazia which we probably should have expected. Blame for the Abkhazian incident goes to all the generations of the Soviet leadership and its perverted policies, and probably less blame rests with the Abkhazians, who have been made the plaything, to their own detriment, of a dark, destructive power. Georgia's young parties failed to conduct a frank dialogue with the best of the Abkhazian people, and the People's Front, which was created later, was too late. The power that sows ethnic strife in Georgia deprived the Georgians of the weapons necessary to defend themselves in their own country, something that never happened before in history. It forced them to place in jeopardy a brother nation with which they were building a life, a history in this land, where personal and state loyalty to one another has been confirmed so many times. It forced the Georgians to consider doing something they had never considered.

Egged on by the dark powers, the mob invaded the branch of Tbilisi University and thereby placed in question the advisability of preserving the Abkhazian University. The separatists are demanding the autonomous republic's secession from Georgia, but at the same time they couldn't stand the idea of the Georgian sector's separation from the so-called Abkhazian University, which for some reason (or for understandable motives) bears the name of Maksim Gorkiy. What does this mean? Only this: that neither Abkhazia nor its university can exist outside the Georgian community.

Guram Petriashvili

1. The People's Front is a desperate measure. The countries whose affairs are in order—for example, Sweden or Switzerland—don't need a People's Front.

The People's Front must help the Georgian nation to deal with all urgent problems. There is no need to list these problems.

Just like the so-called informal organizations (which it would be more correct to label patriotic), the People's Front must endeavor to kindle national feelings in each and every Georgian and inspire them to do specific deeds.

As far as my own participation in the People's Front is concerned, I will do my best not to miss out on a single beneficial undertaking that is important to Georgia. However, it seems to me in general that it would be best for me to stick with those things that are nearest and dearest to me.

I am an ordinary worker in Georgian culture. For this reason, I do more thinking about matters of culture.

For example, one of the most important problems in Lower Kartlia is that the Georgians living there need to have a keener sense of Georgian culture. We must do no less than pamper the local Georgians with cultural information. We ought to be giving priority to Georgian books, songs, shows, films, and concerts for that district, which is in trouble. Our problem is not that we are so few (3.5 million is not a small population) but that up to now not every Georgian has been much concerned for the good of all of Georgia. One of the main results of the national movement is that the number of truly Georgian citizens has multiplied. It is essential to rally the nation around the chief task. That task is—no more, no less—the country's physical survival.

A lot of people are talking about consolidation these days, but unity will never be accomplished unless some people are willing to give up the sweet and cozy life they have been living up to now.

When necessary, the People's Front must resort to every peaceful and constitutional form of protest, ruling out any violence on our part. We cannot answer for the actions of the other side. Our activities must not be confined merely to stating demands. The main quality of anyone working in the Front should be that of initiative. The People's Front must endeavor to bring about a Georgia in which everyone toils honestly and faithfully for our little country. Finally, every specific task of the People's Front should aim for a free Georgia.

The sectorial and regional principles of the Front's work need not be in conflict with one another—as long as certain people do not want that. It is no secret that in some organizations and institutions there are people who held power before and want to get their hands on the reins of the People's Front—I mean party, soviet, and administrative officials.

2. So far, the final version of the Program that was adopted at the Congress is acceptable.

3. We must keep in mind that each one of us has brought Georgia to this difficult and complicated predicament.

All of us are guilty, with few exceptions. Georgian society needs to feel remorse toward those people who, over ten years ago, called upon us to form a free and beautiful Georgia and we paid no attention to their appeal. At a time when Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Merab Kostava, and some of their comrades-in-arms were being persecuted, we—the rest of Georgia—slept blithely on our pillows and continued, more or less honorably, to live the philistine life. Those people are real Christians and have not reproached us, but we must always be conscious of our guilt. Our whole society should take an example from the life of the people whom the authorities have called dissidents, informals, or extremists, and who have dedicated every moment of their lives to Georgia's welfare and a free future... and are still doing so.

Georgia's chief enemy today is His Majesty Material Things, which many people have made into an object of worship. Georgian lands have been sold for the sake of Material Things (costly furniture, a car, a home). Material Things refers not only to material objects but also to the prestigious position, rank, college degree, a "guest appearance" somewhere, and they are no less fatal to the life of society.

What Georgia needs today is a stronger sense of national consciousness. What I mean is that from now on, every Georgian's every act, thought, and feeling must be in the service of a future free Georgia. Thus, if a man builds a fine architectural structure the main thing is not how wonderful it is but whether it was built for Georgia. It seems to me, as a representative of literature and the arts, that the Georgian artist's status needs to be changed. The Georgian artist is the person whose creativity and personal life are solely in the service of the Georgian ideal.

At present, Georgia is unable to repatriate the "Turkish Meskhetians." The issue today is as follows: We must make a choice between Georgia, on the one hand, and those Georgians who make up a very small part of the so-called "Turkish Meskhetians," on the other. Once we have become politically and economically strong, we will not abandon a single one of our countrymen. Under the circumstances, no one is giving us a "choice." For this reason, our "humane" desires could destroy our homeland.

4. The situation in Abkhazia is indeed one that was "created." But in fact we Georgians are not to blame for it. We Georgians have a remarkable gift of tolerance. No other nation can boast of honoring others more than we.

A certain stamp of annoyance can be sensed in the attitude today's Abkhazians have toward us. As has been noted, no other people constituting that percentage of the population has its own autonomous republic; no other people having that small a population has its own university or television.

In my opinion, the problem is not what Abkhazia is going to demand next from the Georgian republic and what our "generous" government is going to give them.

The problem is that today's Abkhazian scientists and cultural workers are more engaged in quarreling with us than in going about their business and promoting Abkhazian science and culture.

I fail to understand why it is that Dimitri Gulia's son does not write in Abkhazian. And now George Hewitt informs us Georgians that "the Abkhazian language is on the brink of extinction, and unless you take the necessary steps [Hewitt made a grammatical mistake in Georgian here—author's note] to foster the use and teaching of Abkhazian, it will die out in a few generations."

It's not up to us to take measures; the preservation of the Abkhazian language depends primarily on the Abkhazians. And if an Abkhazian writer (Giorgi Gulia, Fazil Iskander) decides to turn his back on Abkhazia, what example does that set for his countrymen?

The Abkhazians are not going to solve their problems by brandishing weapons at the Georgians. Their main problems are something they have to solve for themselves.

Bashkir ASSR Writers on Nationality Policy

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[Article by V.Rafikov, chief editor of the journal AGIDEL, party secretary of the Bashkir Writers' Union: "To Seek Ways to True Equality"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee's draft program "The Party Nationality Policy under Present Conditions" was discussed at the open party meeting of the Bashkir Writers' Union. Courage, free thought and sincere desire to analyze every article of the draft were evident in all speeches. Writers reviewed proposed measures to reorganize the Soviet federation in a convincing and well-argued manner and spoke about articles in the draft which allow for ambiguous interpretations.

In particular, the chapter entitled "On Enhancing the Role and Legal Status of Ethnic Autonomy" was criticized, especially the following words: "to fully restore the legitimate rights and interests of nationalities living in autonomous republics, oblasts and districts." This effectively means that the five-layer equality of Soviet nationalities will be preserved: autonomous entities will endure, in which case the inertia of the old way of thinking will continue to give preference to the union republic at the expense of autonomous republics, not to mention autonomous oblasts and districts. We must be totally honest on this issue and go all the way, stating in the program that all ethnic states in the USSR will get equal status along with equal rights: they must all become Soviet Socialist Republics.

Could it be that the Bashkir ASSR, which has surpassed many union republics as far as its contribution to the country's economic and cultural treasury is concerned, has not yet earned this right? Writers expressed doubts about such terms as autonomous republics, oblasts and

districts, based on the need to achieve true equality for all nationalities in the USSR.

In the chapter "On Ethnic Cultures and Languages", the provision that leaves it up to the republic itself to decide whether or not to declare the language of the nationality whose name the republic bears the state language was found to be objectionable. While on the surface it seems to be a democratic solution, in reality it gives an unlimited scope for arbitrary decisions to local authorities, who are often willing to sacrifice ethnic interests in order to show to central authorities how progressive they are. We propose a different version of this article: "The republic's state language should be that of the homonymous nationality." Naturally, every republic will have to create favorable conditions for other nationalities living there to study its state language. The Law on the Status of the State Language should also include an article on the Russian language, which in accordance with established practice should be given the role of the language of interethnic communication.

The unanimity of writers is the result of the great concern they feel for their Bashkiria. It is natural, for the fate of our land has long been in the hands of people who knew nothing of its history, culture or language, and who neither loved nor respected it. The results of this were seen in our recent past, when in the south, the northeast and the Trans-Urals part of the republic, where the indigenous population lives, Bashkir schools were being systematically closed; whereas in schools in the west, where instruction had always been in Tatar since the population there is mainly Tatar, the Bashkir language was being steadily enforced. Such an infringement on ethnic interests was not due to incompetence alone. That policy was based on socioeconomic factors.

The following data comes from recommendations developed by the symposium entitled "Principal Directions of Bashkiria's Social and Economic Development in the 13th Five-Year Plan and to the Year 2005". The Urals and northeastern subdistricts of Bashkiria, where 14 percent of the republic's population (mainly Bashkirs) live on 36.5 percent of the total territory, contain a mere 6.5 percent of Bashkir ASSR industry. In other words, one part of the republic, i.e., the west, was developed at the expense of another, i.e., the east. This was done without any regard for the people and without taking their civic and patriotic feelings into account, despite the fact that the eastern part of the republic has been the true historic Bashkir heartland. Here are more numbers from the booklet published based on the symposium's data: some 37 percent of the total population loss occurs in the northeastern and eastern parts of the republic. Bashkirs

are leaving their native land, lose their language and customs and suffer from socioeconomic injustice.

Is this problem being addressed by Bashkiria's present leadership? Apparently not. One leader has recently gone on record declaring that he would insist on recognizing Russian as the state language, as though there were any need for it. We use Russian as we use the air. Why this excessive zeal? Naturally, this statement has stirred public opinion. In order to save the Bashkir language and the entire Bashkir nation, constitutional guarantees are needed—and such guarantees were drafted by writers at their meeting.

Writers proposed to amend the draft program with the following statement: "The republic's Supreme Soviet should be comprised of two chambers: the Republic Soviet and the Nationalities Council. In the Nationalities Council, the main ethnic groups of the republic will have equal representation, guaranteeing that each ethnic group is able to realize its right to develop freely. In other words, we suggest that not only the RSFSR would have a bicameral Supreme Soviet, as the draft platform proposes, but other republics with multiethnic population would, as well. In Bashkiria, for example, we have over 80 nationalities.

We think that the CPSU Central Committee's platform should bolster the responsibility of the media for insulting publicly the national dignity of any ethnic group. We think that everyone understands the importance of this measure. Let me cite an example which is being mentioned at almost every writers' meeting here and discussed in the local press. The journal DRUZHBA NARODOV in its July 1988 issue published an article "My Language, My Friend" by Aydar Khalim, who is a notorious figure here. The author described very emotionally and colorfully, but in my view quietly tendentiously, the "Bashkirization" of Tatars which I mentioned above, presenting those who push people off their native soil as Bashkir nationalists. The editorial board of the journal did not think it necessary to check with historians the facts mentioned in the article. Moreover, A.Khalim's opponents were not given a chance to reply to his accusations on the pages of the journal. Unchecked facts that were mentioned in the article traveled into a book by Remarenko "Tracking the Snowman" and into some Baltic publications—all describing processes under way in Bashkiria in the same tendentious light.

The party must clearly state that even minute tendentiousness is unacceptable in the nationality question. We hope that an appropriate article will be included in the Law on the Press which we are eagerly awaiting.

Latvian MVD Chief On Intensification Of Anti-Crime Fight

18001638 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
29 Aug 89 p 2

[Article by Lt Gen B. Shteynbrik, Latvian SSR Minister of Internal Affairs: "Through A United Front And The Full Force Of The Law"]

[Text] In August, the USSR Supreme Soviet issued the decree "On Resolutely Intensifying the Fight Against Crime." The decree sets forth a system of measures to be taken over a two-year period, with mandatory reports by officials of the appropriate agencies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the republic Supreme Soviets, and local Soviets. In other words, the state and its supreme and local bodies of power are taking the fight against crime into their own hands, in order to wage as a united front and using the full force of the law.

Provisional committees have been set up in the Union, republics, krays, and oblasts, and in republic, kray, and oblast centers. They consist of officials of the Procuracy, the courts, and internal-affairs, state-security, and justice agencies, as well as USSR People's Deputies. Our Republic Provisional Committee for Fighting Crime is headed by A. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The committee held its first session a few days ago. Organizational matters were considered. The session called attention to the need to shake up the public, so to speak, in every possible way, to establish close contacts with it, and to provide for full cooperation among law-enforcement agencies. The session also discussed certain other top-priority tasks.

The country has been swept by a crime wave. The number of crimes in just the first seven months of this year is approximately 33 percent above the figure for the same period of last year.

The situation in our republic has become sharply exacerbated as well. Almost all types of crime have shown increases, including murder, the inflicting of grave bodily injuries, rape, robbery with extreme violence, open stealing, and theft of state and personal property. Never before has the situation in our republic so deteriorated.

Many factors account for this situation, and they are all interrelated to some extent. We must carefully analyze them in order to determine the most effective means of eliminating them. The situation demands drastic measures: Without firm public order there is no democracy.

To halt the deterioration in legal order, and subsequently to change the situation for the better—such is the crucial and absolutely urgent task. And the provisional committees are being assigned a special role in this regard. Invested with full powers, they are called upon to unite and coordinate law-enforcement agencies' actions

without supplanting them and to wage, in conjunction with the general public, a merciless offensive war against crime.

In my view, one republic committee is not enough. In addition to that committee, it would be useful to set up provisional committees in Riga, Daugavpils, Ventspils, Liyepaya, Yurmala, Yelgava, and Rezekne, to be headed by local soviet executive committee chairmen. We should also draw up a special program for combating crime in Riga, Yurmala, Ogre, and Rihzskiy Rayon, where almost have of all crimes recorded in the republic are committed.

The provisional committees' strength lies in that they are capable of deciding many matters quickly and efficiently, without wasting time on protracted dovetailing and overcoming interdepartmental barriers. And many urgent matters have piled up.

There is a rather widely held view that the police are to blame for everything. This view is apparently shared by certain mass media, which have mounted ill-considered and often unsubstantiated attacks on the police and have undermined officers' prestige. Of course, we have our shortcomings and our failings, but we also have our difficulties—a subject to which I will return. The most important point, however, is that not everything depends on us. This is why it is so important to attack crime in a united front.

We are not trying to evade responsibility for the present situation. It must be pointed out, however, that internal-affairs agencies have successfully carried out numerous operational and investigative measures to find and arrest dangerous criminals. These measures have required of police officers a high degree of professionalism, energy, and courage.

In spring, for example, officers of our ministry's Department for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation exposed the criminal activities of a cooperative consisting almost entirely of people with criminal records. Using the cooperative as a front, they engaged in fraud, theft, robbery with extreme violence, and large-scale profiteering.

In Riga, Ministry of Internal Affairs officers arrested a group of racketeers who had "levied taxes" on cooperative cafes and sewing shops and who, using police uniforms, committed robberies with extreme violence "on the side."

Recently, criminal investigation officers of the Riga Internal Affairs Administration and the Yurmala and Tukumskiy Rayon internal affairs departments, in conjunction with police from the Ukraine and Belorussia, arrested a large group of bandits—more than 20 persons—who had committed several dozen armed attacks on apartments and cooperative warehouses, thefts, and other crimes in 1988 and 1989. Firearms and homemade Finnish daggers were confiscated from them, as were

various objects valued at a very large sum of money. An investigation is currently under way.

There are many such examples. Unfortunately, it also happens that criminals whose exposure required considerable effort get off with a slap on the wrist or go unpunished altogether. The blame lies with both imperfect state of our laws and an ill-considered humaneness: The courts and Procuracy sometimes treat recidivists as leniently as they might deal with first offenders.

No one makes a serious effort to solve the problem of finding housing and employment for people who have completed the terms of punishment set by the courts. Enterprises that have shifted to cost accounting try to keep them away. Soviet executive committees provide no housing whatsoever for them. People's courts also show an unwarranted humaneness toward people being prosecuted for malicious violations of administrative oversight regulations. Last year in Liyepaya, for example, of 16 malicious offenders only five were sentenced to deprivation of freedom; the rest got corrective labor.

Efforts to combat parasitism have essentially been curtailed. Only three people were convicted of leading a parasitic way of life in the republic last year.

And here are the results: More than 42 percent of all crimes are committed by people with previous convictions, and more than 26 percent are committed by people who do not work or study anywhere.

The development of organized crime and the emergence of racketeering undoubtedly stem from the appearance in our society in recent years of very rich people who have hundreds of thousands of rubles that were clearly acquired through illegal means. This is a direct consequence of the flourishing "shadow economy" and of distortions in the cooperative movement.

Local soviet executive committees are doing a poor job of directing and monitoring the operation of cooperatives and essentially failing to obstruct the derivation of unearned income through all manner of trading and middleman schemes. In order to combat racketeering and extortion successfully, we must first of all eliminate the factors that give rise to it; we must take a closer look at the activities of certain cooperatives run by people who are no strangers to defendant's dock.

Thefts of state property in the past seven months rose by almost 80 percent in comparison with the same period of last year. The main reason for this is irresponsibility and mismanagement on the part of enterprise executives and indifference among labor collectives. It is astonishing how certain enterprises contrive to make ends meet under cost accounting despite numerous thefts and pilfering of raw materials and finished output.

Directives of industrial and trade enterprises and consumers' cooperatives are failing to meet the justified demands that extradepartmental security officials have

made of them. Of 12,132 items on which registration documents must be kept, only 44

have the required paperwork. The executive committees of Leningradskiy, Proletarskiy, Balvskiy, Ludzenskiy, Tukumskiy, and Tsesisskiy Rayons have failed to allocate premises for centralized, secure storage facilities. Amid these conditions, thefts are naturally on the increase.

For a number of years, we have been concerned by crime among juveniles, who are currently to blame for every fourth crime. Preventive work among juveniles has been neglected—it is performed only by police officers, and not in a sufficiently effective way at that. Communist Youth League organizations at educational institutions have removed themselves from this important work, while administrations often limit themselves to exhortation. There is a massive dropout trend among school and vocational-technical school pupils. Teenagers who quit their studies cannot find work: No one will hire them. Left with time on their hands, they often fall under the influence of criminal elements and engage in profiteering, currency speculation, stealing, and auto theft, and they sometimes commit grave crimes as well.

And adverse situation obtains on the republic's roads. Whereas 575 people were killed in traffic accidents in all of last year, the figure for the first seven months of this year is more than 400. This shows that the changes that were recently made in traffic regulations have failed to justify themselves. Stricter sanctions must be imposed on those who violate traffic regulations, up to and including confiscation of vehicles.

Nor can we ignore the fact that the police recently acquired a worrisome duty that requires a good deal of effort—namely, to maintain public order during rallies and demonstrations. For example, to keep order during a mass action staged by supporters of the Latvian People's Front on Aug. 23, we had to assign 1,500 officers from the patrol and post service, the State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration, and the criminal investigation department, as well as divisional inspectors.

The activity of volunteer police auxiliary members has slackened noticeably today, and their ranks have declined by 17 percent. An urgent need has arisen to restructure the operation of the volunteer police auxiliary in light of the existing situation. Various options have been proposed, but local soviet executive committees, enterprise managements, and labor collectives have yet to arrive at a common view, and some people think the volunteer police auxiliary has become obsolete altogether. The clock is ticking away, and things remain at a standstill.

Such is the by no means full range of questions that, in our view, must be resolved by the Provisional Committee for Fighting Crime. The Ministry of Internal Affairs cannot resolve them, for they are not within our competence. At the same time, however, they cannot be

decided without the participation of internal-affairs agencies, which need help and support.

Experience throughout the world confirms that a cheap police force costs the state and people dearly. We cannot economize on our guardians of order. For some reason, we are failing to take this obvious truth into consideration.

Internal-affairs agencies are in need of the most vital types of modern equipment. There are not enough automobiles and motorcycles, and gasoline consumption is strictly limited. We received just 37 motor vehicles last year—and this at a time when 33 percent of our departments' motor vehicles should be written off. But vehicles are the least of our problems! We cannot even obtain centrally allocated materials to build our facilities: We have received 61 percent of the total quantity of bricks we need, and only 35 percent of the cement.

The republic Council of Ministers' decree on providing divisional inspectors with housing, telephones, and cars is going unmet.

Departments and services are understaffed, resulting in the overworking of our officers. The large work volume, insufficient legal protections, very modest pay, and disordered living conditions—1,640 families are waiting for housing—all these things hardly make police work attractive. And this is compounded by the unjustified attacks and outright mockery of police officers in which certain mass media have engaged! It should come as no surprise that both young people and skilled officers are leaving internal-affairs agencies; they are changing jobs and joining cooperatives, where the work is easier and more rewarding in a material sense. We currently have a severe shortage of experienced criminal investigators and criminal-investigation operations supervisors, which is having a negative impact on crime-solving.

It is difficult to make up this shortage, especially with members of the native population: Only 30 percent of all internal-affairs agency employees are Latvians, and the figure for the Riga police is just 15 percent.

We are counting very much on the provisional committee's assistance. To labor collectives and young people returning from the Army, we say: The police force needs honest, brave, and energetic people!

We also feel that the mass media should alter their attitude toward the police. They must tell about our difficult and dangerous but vital service in a truthful and objective fashion. Perhaps we should consider bringing back the crime-beat reporters. Such journalists could, in some instances, accompany our officers to the scene of an incident and quickly and efficiently prepare vivid pieces for newspapers and television.

And so we have now declared a nationwide war on our insolent criminals. We must wage a decisive offensive, using the full force of the law. But this offensive must be

well prepared and backed up materially and politically. Only then will success be achieved and this difficult task accomplished.

Armenian Procurator Updates Republic Crime Statistics

90US0042a Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
27 Aug 89

[Armenpress interview with Vladimir Nazaryan: "Pertinent Problems of the Procuracy"]

[Text] An Armenpress correspondent asked Vladimir Nazaryan, doctor of legal sciences, and Armeanian SSR procurator, to answer a number of questions.

[Correspondent] The central press has published a communique about the state of crime in the country. That communique has caused a large amount of concern among our people. I would like to know what the state of crime in our republic is.

[V. Nazaryan] During the current year an extremely serious situation has been created with the state of law and order in the republic. The crime rate in the first half-year, as compared with the same period last year, increased by 49 percent, or by 1414 crimes, with an increase in the number of crimes being registered in almost all the rayons and cities in the republic.

Something that is especially alarming is the sharp increase in the number of grave crimes—an increase of 52.3 percent, which outstrips even the growth rates for crime as a whole. There has been a noticeable increase in the criminals' cruelty and aggressiveness, and an increase in the number of deliberate murders. There has been a considerable increase in mercenary crimes. Thefts of state property have increased by 196 percent; thefts of citizens' personal property, by 94.2 percent; and the increase in thefts from apartments has been even more considerable—131.3 percent. Thefts of the citizens' personal property increased by 433.3 percent; robbery, 212.5 percent; etc. The state of affairs with regard to the juvenile crime rate has worsened.

A very alarming situation is developing with regard to traffic safety on the republic's streets and roads. In the first half-year, 306 persons died as a result of accidents, and 859 persons received bodily injuries with various degrees of severity, as compared with 153 deaths and 504 bodily injuries during the same period last year, that is, there was an almost doubling in the number of persons who were killed or injured in automobile accidents.

All this, of course, is an alarming situation.

[Correspondent] What is the reason for the increase in crime and what is the nature of the problems confronting the republic's procuracy?

[V. Nazaryan] Crime is a complicated social phenomenon that is closely linked with all spheres of the economic, political, and sociocultural life of society. The

increase in crime is influenced both by objective factors and by subjective ones. In particular, this increase is observed during periods when society is changing over from one sociopolitical state to another. Perestroyka, which is a revolutionary process, is simultaneously a period of social upheavals that are accompanied by the aggravation of the crime situation.

If you asked me what is the main approach in fighting crime, I would answer: on the legal level it is the creation of the law-governed state. People must possess real rights and freedoms, and real duties must be imposed on them. At the same time the chief task of the state must be the protection of the citizens' life, health, honor, and dignity, and their property rights and other constitutional rights.

In jurisprudence there are more than 250 causes of crime. Naturally, it is impossible to discuss all of them in detail.

In particular, in our republic factors that have exerted and that continue to exert a major effect on the aggravation of the crime situation are the consequences of the natural calamity, as well as the sharp aggravation of the interethnic relations. Factors of even longer standing also exist. Take, for example, such a social phenomenon as the shortage of consumer goods. Constantly, every day, it gives rise to speculation, abuses, and various violations of the principle of social justice, against which the application simply of legal measures of exerting an effect, without the carrying out of effective economic measures, will not yield any tangible results. But what is, in my opinion, a large misfortune is a shortage that exists in many spheres—the shortage of conscience and morality.

As for the problems that confront the republic's procuracy, they are concentrated around one main task—while guaranteeing the strictest observance of the citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms, the organizing of an effective fight against crime, and primarily against grave crimes.

The need to observe the secrecy of the preliminary investigation prevents discussing in detail the large amount of work that is being carried out by us and by other law-enforcement agencies.

I would like to give a few examples. At the present time we are investigating criminal cases involving the illegal sale of a large consignment of jewelry articles with a total value of more than 260,000 rubles; the theft of imported fabrics with a total value of approximately 300,000 rubles; the theft of gold-bearing concentrate from the Ararat Gold-Prospecting Factory, with a total value of more than 700,000 rubles; etc. The investigation of a criminal case involving a holdup of the Charentsavan Branch of Gosbank and the murder of four persons has been completed and the case has been sent to court.

Recently, at the board of the republic's procuracy, with the participation of the administrators of the republic's ministries and departments and the general directors of

the largest industrial associations and enterprises, there was a complete discussion of the mass instances of fires, some of which had obvious signs of arson, since they were the sinister finale to the inspections and audits being conducted in the outlying areas against the materially responsible individuals. In this year alone, the damages incurred by the state as a result of fires come to approximately 20 million rubles. A study of the cases in previous years has shown that almost all the damages caused by fires are written off at the expense of the government. Hence the irresponsible attitude that many administrators show to state property.

Today in Armenia, and especially in its capital, the problems of the ecology are more than critical. The materials that we have at our disposal attest to the fact that, in order to organize effective work in this area, it is extremely necessary to create a special procuracy for the protection of the republic's environment, which procuracy could concentrate in its hands the carrying out of effective procurator overview of this complicated and multifaceted sphere.

[Correspondent] What is your attitude toward the provisional committees to intensify the fight against crime?

[V. Nazaryan] These committees themselves are a consequence of the extraordinary situation that has been created in our country. Their basic goal is to attract broad segments of the public to the fight against crime and to guarantee the maximum publicity in this sphere.

The provisional committees are supposed to guarantee the interaction between the special law-enforcement agencies and the labor collectives and public organizations, so that, by their joint efforts, they can wage an implacable war against crime. It must be emphasized that these committees do not take the place of the procuracy or the other law-enforcement agencies. They operate under conditions of the strict observance of socialist legality and are called upon to guarantee the protection of the citizens's constitutional rights and freedoms.

We have developed and submitted to our republic's provisional committee specific recommendations with regard to intensifying the fight against crime. The decision has been made to discuss at a forthcoming session of the provision committee the question linked with the intensification of the struggle against crime in the area of the natural disaster.

[Correspondent] What is your attitude toward informal organizations and movements?

[V. Nazaryan] As a whole, a positive one, since their formation and their activities are the manifestation of the attempt by the masses of the people, of various social groups, to take active part in the administration of public and state affairs. However, in all instances it is necessary to clarify the true goal of each specific informal organization, to have a thorough knowledge of its program, in

order to react adequately to their activities. The procuracy supports and intends to cooperate actively with those organizations which are created for the purpose of seeking constructive decisions to the vitally important problems, and it attempts to direct the active participation of the masses of the people toward implementing the creative tasks of perestroyka with the strict observance of the "do no harm" principle.

It should be noted that the informal organizations, to a large extent, are the product of the rally period of the political renovation of society. It is obvious that by no means all the decisions being made at rallies are legal ones that correspond to the interests of the nation in our republic. There are a very large number of complicated problems that require better thought-out, hypothetical, and complete analysis. In order to resolve them it is necessary to take into account the real opportunities available to the country and the republic, and the goals and principles of perestroyka. In a word, these are problems that cannot be resolved on the run or with the aid of rallies.

On the other hand, frequently at these rallies deliberately distorted information is issued. I would like to give only a few examples that touch upon myself personally. Rumors are circulating to the effect that my son shunned active military service and caused an accident that resulted in death. But, unfortunately, I do not have a son. On 24 August 1989 a poetess whom I respect, speaking at a rally attended by many thousands of people, assured those present that I had turned over to the law-enforcement agencies of a neighboring republic an arrested citizen A., who was accused of committing a crime in the city of Baku on an interethnic basis. This does not correspond to reality. The citizen mentioned is in our republic. The originators of these rumors, by stirring up uninformed people against the party and state agencies, and also against officials, thus have the purpose of aggravating even more the already tense situation in the republic.

Unfortunately, the atmosphere that prevails at the rallies practically precludes the possibility of the competent

agencies to react promptly to refute the disinformation or to offer reliable information concerning the events and legal processes that are occurring.

As a result, emotionally oversaturated decisions arise at these rallies, and the participants demand that the party and state agencies take immediate steps to render decisions that are favorable to them.

But we are moving toward a law-governed state and this presupposes the existence of a sense of responsibility in everyone—both the administrative workers and the members of informal organizations.

[Correspondent] What is the participation of the republic's procuracy in rehabilitating the innocent persons who were repressed during the period of Stalinism?

[V. Nazaryan] The most direct and the most active participation. This process has been under way continuously in our republic. Taking into consideration the tremendous number of the innocent persons who were sentenced and repressed and the need to rehabilitate them as rapidly as possible, in response to our request the USSR Procuracy has allocated to us 13 new billets for procurators and technical workers. At the present time we are successfully carrying out this humanitarian job.

Closely related to this process is the careful analysis of the statements and complaints of persons who were sentenced for general crimes. In this area we have also broadly extended our work. Both I myself, and other administrative workers in the republic's procuracy visit places of confinement and talk face to face with people, and this is something that is new in the activities of the procuracy. This makes it possible to penetrate more deeply into the essence of their complaints. I must especially note that in this question we find understanding both on the part of ArSSR Supreme Court and the Presidium of ArSSR Supreme Soviet. We proceed from the convictions that all the errors of the past that were made when handling criminal cases must be corrected. In this area, complicated and serious tasks lie ahead of us.

**SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA Thanks Readers
for Support Against Merger Plan**

90US0056a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
1 Sep 89 p 1

[Open letter: "To the Readers of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA"]

[Text] Dear Friends!

In recent times all of you have been disturbed by the question of the fate of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA: during the course of preparing for the Latvian CP Central Committee Plenum and at the Plenum itself there were resonant proposals to publish one and only one republic-level daily newspaper of the Latvian CP in the Latvian and Russian languages, i.e., to merge CINA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA.

Most of our readers perceived this as an attempt to close down SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA. In defense of the newspaper an avalanche of resolutions and appeals by meetings of communists and labor collectives, and public organizations poured into our editorial offices, along with letters and telegrams from groups, whole families, and individual readers from all cities and rayons from the Latvian SSR and even from the fraternal republics of the Soviet Union—people of the most diverse ages, occupations, and nationalities. Unfortunately, the newspaper space allowed us to publish only an insignificant portion of this large correspondence.

At the last session of the Latvian CP Central Committee, which completed its work on 30 August, the question of creating one republic-level daily newspaper of the Latvian CP in the Latvian and Russian languages was postponed until the next regularly scheduled congress of the Latvian CP.

The editorial collective thanks all party and social and public organizations, labor and military servicemen's collectives, and all our readers for their warm words of support. We regard them as an advance payment on account, obligating our journalists to work better, to stand more steadfastly on fundamental party positions, to speak out more actively to propaganda collectives, agitators, and organizers of this republic's working people in the struggle for a revolutionary renewal of society, for the integrated family of Soviet peoples, and for unity within the ranks of the CPSU.

But we will be able to carry out this task only by constantly strengthening the ties with our readers, by relying on your aid, your letters, reports, suggestions, and remarks. Let's hope that this reader support will also be clearly reflected in an active subscription to SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA for 1990.

The Editors

**Operations, Activities of SMOT Information
Agency Outlined**

90US0056b Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH
in Russian 15 Sep 89 p 3

[Article by Tatyana Mass: "IAS: We Want To Talk About Everything"]

[Text] "The street trade in samizdat has become widely developed in Moscow. The principal places of trade are the Arbat, Pushkin Square, Luzhniki, and the Kropotkinskaya Metro Station. The following publications are sold here: PANORAMA, SOVETSKAYA MORALKA, DEMOKRAT, SVOBODNOYE SLOVO, ROSSIYSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, EKSPRESS-KHRONIKA, RUSSKAYA MYSL, and bulletins of the people's fronts. Sometimes the police hamper the dissemination of EKSPRESS-KHRONIKA and ROSSIYSKIYE VEDOMOSTI. The remaining publications are disseminated without hindrance," reports the SMOT [Free Inter-Professional Association of Working People] Agency's information bulletin in its issue No 23 of this year.

The SMOT [IAS] Information Agency was formed in 1982. In the beginning its goal was to gather information for its own organization (the Free Inter-Professional Association of Working People, which has been in existence since 1978). Now it has been transformed into an independent samizdat editorial office, which published, in addition to bulletins, the journal ROSSIYSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, BLAGOVEST, the information bulletins VOZROZHDENIYE and POETICHESKOYE REVYU, the bulletin of the "Commission for the Discovery and Burial of the Assumed Remnants of the Tsar's Family."

Such a number of publications is occasioned by the new goal of IAS—the expand the flow of unmonitored information. There is a network of correspondents, not necessarily SMOT members, who supply information over telephones listed in the IAS bulletins. The telephones are frequently changed because the editors must move from apartment to apartment.

The editorial group includes several persons: Lev Volokhonskiy, Natalya Golovanova, Olga Korzinina, Yevgeniy Krasnikov. The editors consider themselves to be independent: "We are trying to print that which has no possibility of being published elsewhere." The principal topics are issues of Russian history, religion, and even politics.

In July, when the miners' strike was taking place, all the central publications reported on this, but the method of supplying the news and the level of honesty were varied. The motional sketches published in OGONYOK were, of course, different from the dry news published in PRAVDA, but it was not just a matter of different genres. One writer who is an acquaintance of mine, wrote, gasping with delight, in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA how the miners fraternized with the party staff

members. He is an honest young fellow, but he turned out to be the captive of a false idea.

The miners did not fraternize with the party staff members because the latter proved to be "bankrupt." This was attested to by the brilliant material written by Ye. Ratnikova, the Donetsk correspondent of the information bulletin:

"...By the third day nobody recalled anything about Anatoliy Vinnik, the secretary of the party obkom, not to mention party functionaries of lesser rank. He was simply chased off the rostrum. B. Kachura, a Ukrainian CP Politburo member who arrived from Kiev, was whistled down by the miners and forced to depart.

"The square was the miners' "veche" [democratic assembly]. Lies filled the newspapers and thrust themselves importunately from the television screens. Truth was to be found only on the square. The speakers took turns. The white heat increased. One speaker put the following question to the square: "Don't you trust us?"—"No," answered the square. "Don't you trust the government commission?"—"No," answered the square. "Don't you trust our party?"—"No," answered the square.

"Then, in despair, he exclaimed: "Don't you trust Gorbachev?" The square remained silent in reply. This silence was very eloquent. The square did not say "no," but it did not say "Yes." It remained silent. The "credit" of trust had been exhausted. The silence of thousands of people on the square was something very serious."

Sergey Pochechuyev, the IAS correspondent, is a former opera singer. He supplies IAS with fresh information about events in the Urals. Two samizdat journals are now being published in Nizhniy Tagil and Sverdlovsk. The Nizhniy Tagil journal is marked by a particular activism—issues of ecology and politics are presented there at the sharpest level. There are also tangible victories, for example, the closing down of batteries of coke ovens.

The SMOT Information Agency cooperates with almost all the emigre publications, except, perhaps, RUSSKAYA MYSL: "It has distorted our materials on several occasions, and we have been compelled to forbid it from reprinting tem."

In general, relations between political parties and organizations and IAS are complex: Pamyat—the Russian, pro-Soviet organization is for socialism without Jews. Its analogues are the people's fronts. National Socialism is something that we have already encountered in history. Well, there is such a point of view.

The IAS considers that the flow of information must be free because the materials are given without commentaries, reducing its own participation merely to collecting and publishing the complex and frequently contradictory information. From this point of view Grigoryants's GLASNOST is also constrained by a program: "It works for the other side, for the West", the people at IAS consider.

The socio-political journal ROSSIYSKIYE VEDOMOSTI is published in "Saint Petersburg-Moscow," as written on its cover. It consists of several sections.

In this year's Issue No 20 under the art section Zinaida Mirkina's article entitled "The Magic Lantern" brings us back to the Silver Age of Russian philosophical thought (but the words "brings back" is not quite precise because, you know, for many of us this is still far in the future).

The section containing socio-political articles is entitled "Survey."

Since the founders of Marxism "tamed" the principles of the dialectic, it may be assumed that their teaching is also not the truth in its final instance, that it is also just one of the paths.

D. Lopatin in his article "Revolution from Above" considers that "Marxist dogmas lead to Utopian, constructivistic speculations, which, in fact, turn into adventurist, inhuman, social experiments. The results comprise social cataclysms, a distortion of the natural course of the historical process and man growing morally wild...."

Further along, the author analyzes the 70-year development of the Land of the Soviets: in economics, culture, and politics. His conclusions are as follows: "And so, under the pressure of circumstances, the party has been compelled to make serious concessions to the necessities of historical development in almost all spheres of public life, except—in part—that of politics. It has reserved the monopolistic right of political life for itself alone. It is taking its last stand in ideology—it will retreat no further."

There is yet another aspect of this Information Agency's activity which is far from matters of publishing. Charity. According to IAS data, as of October 1986, there were approximately 200 political prisoners in our country. These persons are being helped by the IAS editors. Packages, legal aid, etc.

I met with the editorial nucleus of IAS in Moscow, alongside the Central Telegraph Office. Their entire activity is connected with the mail: receiving it and sending out information bulletins and ROSSIYSKIYE VEDOMOSTI by registered mail. The number of subscribers is constantly increasing. The publications can be subscribed to even by telephone; the IAS people requested me to give the number: 461-37-80.

In general, something paradoxical is happening: the official journalism has become interesting and sharp, but interest in the samizdat publications continues to grow. What is this: is an aroused political awareness making itself known, or is only one, official view of our life no longer enough for a society which has reached a certain degree of development?

...These people, who have stretched the regulations to the limit, it seems to me, are doing their work on a good, journalistic level. Their bulletins are filled with vital,

operative information. The analytical articles frequently amaze us by the fresh, nervous energy of their authors. Even the heterogeneity of the materials, to be honest about it, are more gratifying than irritating.

And they still manage to maintain the rhythm of their publications, and that without any permanent staff or answering service, without a printing plant or even a home phone for their sole typist....

Council of Ministers Official Suggests Goskompriroda Improvements

90US0044b Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK in Russian No 18, Sep 89 p 9

[Article by Deputy Chief of the Department of Territorial Development of the National Economy and Capital Construction of the USSR Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs A. Tsygankov: "The Logic of Ecology"]

[Text] *In its last issue, PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK presented the new chairman of the USSR Goskompriroda [State Committee for Environmental Protection]. In his interview with our newspaper, N. Vorontsov discussed the new organizational and methodological principles of operations of the environmental protection agency, of course, in brief. Today, the editorial office carries on the conversation.*

The emergence of a new agency has hardly ever caused such an outbreak of enthusiasm in the broadest masses of the populace. The hope of the people for a rapid improvement in the ecological situation has resulted in a stream of suggestions and wishes that the committee become a true master of our native nature. Alas, the results of 1.5 years of work are more than modest. The inhabitants of many cities feel it without any instrumentation; all they have to do is to walk in the street or drink a glass of tap water. However, in fairness to the Goskompriroda, it needs to be said that the USSR Goskompriroda has become an unwitting respondent for someone else's misdeeds.

Every year, about 90 percent of state investments for environmental protection were utilized; not one plan was ever fulfilled. Pollution control facilities and installations went from one 5-year plan to the next unfinished to the loud sounds of reports, speeches, and incantations.

To be sure, favorable shifts have begun to emerge lately. For example, in the current 5-year plan the expansion of land reclamation work has made it possible to slow down the increase in land areas disrupted by mining operations. The commissioning of water recycling systems is under way. However, even now almost 30 cubic kilometers of untreated waste waters are discharged into the bodies of water, and about 100 million tons of pollutants are discharged into the atmosphere.

The threat of a pronounced ecological crisis agitates the entire society; demands to close down this or that chemical or metallurgical enterprise or that of another industry are heard increasingly often. Unfortunately, this is not a way out: It is nonsensical and anti-social to wind down production given the current situation in the economy. Nobody is going to supply our country with goods and foodstuffs if we do not do it ourselves. It is another matter that such production has to be ecologically harmless.

Be that as it may, disappointment and even alarm have replaced the hopes pinned on the operation of the USSR Goskompriroda which have not been realized. Further loss of confidence by the people may bring about a complete devaluation of authority which will be extremely hard to regain later.

However, if efforts are concentrated on several priority avenues of restructuring the work of the committee it may be possible to first stabilize and then gradually improve the ecological situation in the country.

First of all, local divisions of environmental protection need to be reorganized almost everywhere. We need to enlist specialists with the highest skills rather than reshuffle the supervisory-level nomenklatura by giving jobs and positions to functionaries who have failed elsewhere. Unfortunately, this was frequently the case in the course of organizing USSR Goskompriroda organs. As a result, many knowledgeable specialists were left out of the endeavor they like. Independent, experienced, and diligent inspectors who have modern instrumentation for their analyses should become the cadre foundation of the environmental protection organs. Oblast or regional analytical centers should be set up shortly.

Second, local services should be given economic devices—standard fees for discharging pollutants into the environment—as soon as the next year. We have experience in this matter; there are many proposals, but the state organ has not been able to develop the methods and standards which every inspector can understand. It is not surprising that local soviets of people's deputies take the initiative, for example, in Leningrad, Zaporozhye, Kostroma. Legally they have a right to do so. However, the precise amount of fees may only be determined on the basis of standardization materials which have difficulty leaving the confines of a detached house on Nezhdanova Street in Moscow where the committee is located.

The funds taken in by the Goskompriroda should go toward a reserve fund—the source of flexible financing for unexpected projects. On the instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers, an experiment with such a fund began in Estonia 6 years ago, and was subsequently expanded to include Lithuania, Latvia, and Armenia. Its results have been discussed by the economists many times, and now is the time to switch from words to deeds. I am convinced that local organs of soviet power will be able to genuinely influence the efficiency of environmental protection activities once they appreciate the economic methods and understand the finer details of collecting and using the funds reasonably.

A resolute restructuring of scientific work is the third, but not the least important avenue. A great many organizations of all kinds are engaged in researching the issues of environmental protection. The Goskompriroda received the assignment to set up the All-Union Scientific Information Center with a view to concentrating the resources and improving coordination. It could head

research in the field of economics and the use of nature without delay, designate priority tasks in applied projects, and embark on setting up a system of automated collection and processing of data on the status of the environment. However, thus far nothing has been heard about this center...

Particular attention should be paid to the maintenance of nature preserves. Many preserves, for example, the Chatkal, Ussuri, Sikhote-Alin, have been created through the labors of many generations of selfless scientists. They represent a tremendous ecological and moral value, and by now they belong to all of humanity. The previous quite modest efforts of the Goskompriroda are definitely inadequate in order to preserve them. These unique locations can retrogress; after all, in the environment of incompetent regional economic accountability, the preserves begin to interfere with the striving of zealous administrators to receive immediate economic benefits at any cost by mindlessly stealing from the coming generations. Nobody in the committee is questioning the feasibility of the separate scientific-production association "Preserves"; however, no efforts to create it have been made so far either.

Reorganizing the system of production of environmental protection equipment is the fourth avenue. Essentially, a powerful concern developing, designing, and producing gas scrubbing equipment, the NIIOgaz [State Scientific and Research Institute for Industrial and Sanitation Gas Scrubbing], the design institute Giprogazochistka [State Institute for Designing Gas Scrubbing Equipment], and the Semibratovskiy Plant, has already emerged. If it were not for the "efforts" of the Chelyabinsk Oblast Executive Committee a new gas scrubbing equipment plant could be started up in Troitsk as soon as this year.

The creation of such concerns or associations would make it possible to switch to the regular installation of environmental protection equipment at enterprises first in the hot spots and subsequently all over the country.

Finally, mutual relations with the public need to be completely restructured. Informal organizations which believe that "official" environmental protection societies are doing too little are being formed all over the country. The activity of informal organizations is to be envied whereas it appears that the social council at the USSR Goskompriroda may become the location for holding solemn ritualistic ceremonies.

Representatives of informal movements do not at all strive to become implacable opponents of the state environmental protection system despite the sometimes excessive sharpness of their opinions. Quite the opposite, under the conditions of glasnost and democracy they want to work in a close businesslike contact. After all, the goal is the same—to arrest the process of the destruction of nature as soon as possible. The positions of the state system will only be reinforced if the committees in the center and in the field will become a second

home for the people who feel they have a moral obligation to the perishing environment.

A draft state long-range program for environmental protection and rational use of natural resources until the year 2005 has now been prepared. Of course, this is a document of a strategic nature. However, on the basis of it a series of regional, republic, and city programs could be created on a unified methodological foundation. These programs could be adopted at the sessions of local soviets and carried out under the strict control of people's deputies.

Aircraft Plant Contaminants Suspected in Tashkent Metro Station Closure

Lack of Response to Warnings Criticized

90US0088 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
10 Sep 89 p 1

[Article by UzTAG correspondent N. Shulepina: "When Will Chkalovskaya Metro Station Open?"]

[Text] On Thursday, 7 September, the Tashkent Party Gorkom Buro discussed the situation which has emerged in conjunction with the closure of the Chkalovskaya metro station to which poisonous waste from the aircraft plant has been seeping. As has already been reported, engineers of the metro system have refused to drive trains to this station.

When will the traffic resume? The answer to this question is associated with another answer: When will the industrial wastes of the plant be channelled to another sewage collector which carries a lesser load? Managers of the aircraft association invited to the bureau meeting variously mentioned 1 October and 5 October. Chief of the metro Sh. Shaabdurakhimov mentioned 1 November. The aircraft plant has undertaken to build wells for intercepting the wastes close to the tunnel by this time. Holes have already been drilled by the metro personnel themselves in the lining of the tunnel through which the accumulated dirty water and gases—hydrogen chloride, nitrogen dioxide, and ammonia—are pumped out... Where are they coming from? Nobody can explain it thus far.

There is hope that the measures undertaken will help. However, nobody is certain that the problem will be ultimately solved. Specialists could not even say what the cause of the illness of the employees of the station was. They do not know why a strong scent of refinery products is felt in the metro, where the specific source of pollution is, and of such admixtures into the bargain which cannot by any means be generated in the electroplating shop of the aircraft plant.

The USSR Ministry of Railways has allocated 120,000 rubles to study this issue. A number of contracts have been signed, including those with the Ukrainian Institute of Microbiology and Virus Studies, the Uzgidromet [Uzbek Committee for Hydrometeorology], and the

Republic Forensic Medicine Center. One of the Moscow institutes has proposed special lining in order to protect the tunnel. The Tashmetroproekt will design forced ventilation. The Tashkent Technical Institute proposes to fit electroplating reservoirs with local waste treatment devices.

Deputy Chairman of the republic Goskompriroda V. Konyukhov stated: "For now, we are compelled to close the electroplating shop of the plant which is nearest to the metro. Four days later, we will close down the second one, and then the third one, and other sources of pollution, and will see whether the ecological situation changes in line with this. The shop-culprit may be found in this manner."

The aircraft builders drew pointed criticism at the meeting of the bureau: New waste treatment facilities are being built too slowly. To be sure, the work has been expedited lately. However, construction began long ago, and—which is absolutely inadmissible—without an ecological review of the design. Recently, the draft was finally considered by the Goskompriroda agencies: Many important amendments have to be made in it.

However, those assembled were concerned about the issue of why there was no "movement" at the first sign of trouble rather than with technical details. After all, even when the tunnel was being dug chromium admixtures corroded the boots of construction workers. Everybody knew this, but the alarm was not raised. Ecologists demanded that measures be taken whereas the plant explained this away by the peculiarities of production and its significance for the country...

G. Sheveleva, Member of gorkom buro, first secretary of the aircraft association party committee admitted: "Indeed, the 'effect of a tall fence' was at work. We cannot deny that the pollution of subsurface waters is our fault. However, there apparently are flaws in the design of the metro. It is known that the air is also polluted at a number of other stations. They are now building a line to the Old City. Will the same mistakes be repeated there?"

She stated that engineers of the plant, having become convinced that the design of cabs of metro engineers is inconvenient, have undertaken to perfect them in order to improve working conditions, that the council of the labor collective added 800,000 rubles for building pollution-control facilities this year. Other measures in aid to the metro system are also being taken.

The gorkom buro has reprimanded managers of the Chkalov Association—General Director V. Zhuravlev, his Deputy for Construction R. Trigulov, and Chief Engineer V. Kall. A commission with extensive powers has been formed which will finally study the issue at a professional, competent level. V. Konyukhov has been entrusted with heading the commission.

This is necessary because the course of discussion has shown that the persons responsible for what has happened are separated by ministerial barriers. Ultimately, this has been the very reason for the alarming situation.

The commission has embarked on its work. Meanwhile, about 50,000 trips a day between the Tashkent and Chkalovskaya Stations cannot be made.

Illnesses, Cause, Design Flaws Studied

90US0088 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
30 Sep 89 p 3

[Report by UzTAG correspondent N. Shulepina: "Metro Station Chkalovskaya: 'Bank of Versions'"]

[Text] The date on which the span between the metro stations Selmashskaya and Chkalovskaya will be open is still unknown. As has been reported, from 5 September on engineers refused to drive trains there due to the strong smell, nausea, dizziness, and other dangerous symptoms. A commission set up on the initiative of the city committee of the party still does not know what the matter is. A "bank of versions" has been created, and each version is being carefully studied.

"The X compound" which is polluting the air in the metro has not been identified yet. The cause of poisoning of six persons who had to receive in-patient treatment is not known.

The first version—that the 6-valent chromium which seeps into subsurface waters from the electroplating shop of the aircraft plant—was not confirmed. To be sure, chromium in subsurface waters is cause for serious alarm. The alarm was raised even as the metro was being built. Neither the hydrogeologists nor the Tashkent Aircraft Building Association or disease control specialists responded to it properly then.

A resolute action of the metro engineers turned out to be a more effective device. Within days, leaks of electroplating wastes from sewers in the compound of the aircraft plant were located. The association immediately began to put in the new sewer: a 70-meter section has already been welded, and a trench has been dug. The discharge will be rechanneled within a week.

However, the waste water does not affect the air in the metro! As was determined, the gases do not at all get to the places in the tunnel where chromium is seeping. The gases occur in places where there is no chromium in the water. Where have they come from, and which of them have caused the disease?

Incidentally, the same gases were found in an excavation close to the former storage facility for fuels and lubricants of the plant. The facility is empty; it was transferred as early as May. However, at a depth of 8 to 10 meters the ground is soaked with refinery products. The excavator operator who was preparing the excavation felt the same symptoms as metro personnel. The digging of the excavation was discontinued until a powerful fan

is installed. It was decided to dismantle about 15 tanks of the former storage facility and remove the ground polluted. The plant will complete this work in October.

A discharge of the same gas was noted when the hydrogeologists were drilling a well at the 83d marker of the metro and next to it, in the tunnel. The 71st marker, which is 1 kilometer closer to the Selkhoz mashskaya station, is also "famous" for a strong smell. By analogy, they looked for the spillage of refinery products here, and found them at the neighboring railroad facility. The digging of an excavation has also begun; the polluted ground will be hauled away.

Inspectors of the Goskompriroda are looking for the polluters of the soil upstream from the aircraft association as well. Spills of fuel were identified at the Motor Vehicle Pool No 2521 and at other neighbors. It is already clear that the pollution of the ground with fuel brings about very dangerous consequences. Besides, the metro tunnel put a concrete dam across the stream of polluted subsurface water. How many more unseen rivers and creeks there are which we do not know about and which threaten people and all that lives?

A version: Polluted ground waters are a favorable environment for anaerobic microorganisms (that is, those living without oxygen). It may be that the products of their biological activities influence people.

One more version: Pollution is a result of the gas escaping from the water when it rushes into the tunnel from behind the metro walls. Specialists from the "Krasnokholmskgeologiya" Association determined that the water contains large quantities of hydrocarbons—the result of decay of refinery products. Could this be the poison?

Surveys are continuing. The aircraft builders are collecting samples around the clock. The Institute of Sanitation, Hygiene, and Occupational Diseases has begun experiments with animals. Physicians are examining the train engineers and employees of the Chkalovskaya station. The "Krasnokholmskgeologiya" is conducting gas monitoring at the plant and along the metro tunnel. The Uzgidromet [Uzbek Hydrometeorology Committee], the Tashkent Branch of the VNIIVodego [All-Union Scientific and Research Institute of Water Supply, Sewers, Hydrotechnical Structures, and Engineering Hydrogeology], and the SredazgiproNIIgaz

[Central Asian State Scientific and Research Institute of the Gas Industry] are doing research. The Institute of Nuclear Physics are collecting samples and analyzing them for metal content. The chemical technology institute of the Minmedprom [Ministry of the Medical Industry], the Research Institute of Forensic Medicine, the Chemical Institute have been enlisted... As versions appear, the specialists needed are drafted.

It is already clear that the gases are coming from the water. It means that the commission has chosen the right path from the very beginning: Remove the source of pollution, reduce the level of ground waters polluted by fuel and lubricants. The special threat which they pose has prompted changes in the locations of drilling wells. One well will be transferred closer to the metro station from the compound of the plant where pumping will be done out of the excavation next to the fuel and lubricants storage facility. To be sure, they do not know what to do with the polluted water pumped out; after all, it can overflow the sewers. The exact composition of the water is still not known—could it be dumped into the collector at all? The issue is under study.

The commission is hard at work. Every meeting is a brainstorm. As soon as the bore-holes were drilled in the tunnel and they began to drain water, its level in the ground immediately began to lower. It is getting easier.

It is a pity, however, that it dawned on them too late... Which one of the designers will be held accountable for poor-quality solutions? Who from among the construction personnel will be held accountable for the "shock-work speed" when the tunnel was being flooded with wastes containing chromium? In general, why is the tunnel leaking? There are many questions, including those addressed to the managers of the aircraft association. It was difficult for specialist-ecologists to get on the other side of its tall fence. Even hints at polluting the natural environment were rejected.

The leadership of the Ministry of Health is also hard to understand. This year alone, two assignments have been given by the government of the republic to figure out the incidence of disease among metro employees. However, they only started doing so recently.

One more question. Is now not the time to check the situation at other metro stations before the engineers get involved there as well?

Georgian Writers Union Declares Independence*18130007 Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO
in Georgian No 36, 8 Sep 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "In the Georgian Writers Union"]

[Text] On 6 September of this year the Secretariat of the Board of the Georgian Writers Union met and decided to declare the Georgian Writers Union an independent organization which will operate with its own charter.

In the event that this issue is resolved in the affirmative, the Georgian Writers Union will have creative, publishing, cultural, and economic contractual relations, on an equal footing, with both the USSR Writers Union and literary organizations of the union republics and foreign countries.

The Secretariat of the Board of the Georgian Writers Union has drafted an independent creative organization Charter, which will be discussed by the Presidium of the Writers Union Board in the near future.

Formation, Role of Independent Georgian Komsomol Discussed*18130008 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI
in Georgian 14 Sep 89 pp 1-2*

[Article by Georgian Komsomol Central Committee Commission member Zaal Chikvaidze: "The Basic Principles of Our Activities"]

[Text] Lately the Georgian youth press, also TBILISI newspaper, has published several drafts of the Georgian Komsomol's future status and platform (program and charter drafts). This indicates that the republic's Komsomol organization, raykoms, and gorkoms and, especially, the Central Committee, have given serious thought to the complicated situation in Georgia and, in parallel with other social and political organizations, are trying to find optimal ways to get out of the crisis and realize the Georgian nation's age-old dreams. The Georgian Komsomol's contribution to the overall national cause is reflected primarily in defining its own status and platform and then in seeking its own place and specific role in the national movement and performing that role in a realistic, professional manner.

As a member of the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee Commission which is attempting to deal with exactly those issues, I consider it incumbent upon me to briefly offer a few of my thoughts on the basic principles of the Georgian Komsomol's future activities.

Let me state first of all that the Georgian Komsomol ought to become a federative organization incorporating Abkhazian and South Ossetian Komsomol members in its ranks. It seems to me that this is the only solution in the event that the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee attempts to form a so-called second Komsomol in Georgia (as it has in Lithuania), one which would be an

inseparable part of the "Center." In addition, the creation of a Georgian Federative Komsomol would constitute a gesture of Georgian Komsomol members' good will toward Komsomol members of Abkhazian and Ossetian nationality. The Georgian Komsomol Central Committee and the Abkhazian and South Ossetian oblast committees ought to launch an immediate explanatory and interpretive campaign along these lines in the primary Komsomol organizations, making particular use of the historical traditions of the Georgian, Abkhazian, and Ossetian peoples' good-neighborliness within the unified Georgian state, their efforts to preserve their national uniqueness, and the axiom of the vital necessity of standing together in face of the common threat. I am certain that common sense will prevail over recklessness, and the Abkhazian and Ossetian peoples (including Komsomol members) will stand by the Georgian nation in the cause of building and defending their common home—a free Georgia.

Today, I believe, a law concerning Georgian citizenship is in the drafting stage. I think that the Georgian Komsomol ought to accept into its ranks only persons who are citizens of the Georgian Republic, or the children of such citizens. By way of exception it should be possible to accept as members young people of Georgian and Abkhazian nationality living outside of Georgia, if they so desire. Let me state also that such a procedure can be considered temporary until such time as Georgian independence is attained.

The Georgian Komsomol's activities, both within the Komsomol and in the life of the state, should be based on a pluralism of ideas, on democracy and glasnost. We should take as our guide the principles of universal human values, humanism, and the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

The Georgian Komsomol must promote the spiritual and moral perfection of youth and the individual for the sake of Georgia's national and state welfare. In this regard, I believe, it is essential to maintain active cooperation with institutions whose purpose is to meet man's spiritual needs and promote his moral cleansing.

Now, a few words about organizational matters. One gets the impression today that the Georgian Komsomol is under dual jurisdiction: on the one hand, it constitutes an inseparable part of the All-Union Komsomol; on the other hand, it serves as the Georgian Communist Party's youth organization. However, if we follow all the threads connecting these relations to the place where they ultimately come together, we can see clearly that the Georgian Komsomol has only "one master"—the CPSU Central Committee, which both the Georgian Communist Party and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee are subordinate to. If the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee now seriously examines the idea of liberating itself from organizational tutelage (which is vitally essential to the Georgian Komsomol), I think, this must be a liberation from both wardens simultaneously, in order, in the final analysis, to liberate ourselves from

the one basic (in actuality, sole) warden. If the Georgian Komsomol should remain organizationally or juridically dependent on even one of them, ultimately this ambiguous position will lead us once more to Moscow's diktat and it will become impossible to establish our own identity. From this it follows that the Georgian Komsomol must become an organization of the All-Union Komsomol, having equal rights, and it must not expect anyone to grant it that right. As far as partnership with the All-Union Komsomol is concerned, that is an issue which must be settled on the basis of a bilateral, open agreement—but only after the Georgian Komsomol has separated organizationally and juridically from the All-Union Komsomol.

If the Georgian Komsomol should work out its own program, naturally, the question of the vital necessity of implementing the program will arise. A question on the agenda at this point is the Georgian Komsomol's representation on both high-level and local organs of state administration. In connection with this, I am certain, the Georgian Komsomol must decisively reject the defective election practices existing today. The Georgian Komsomol must support the passage of a new election law in Georgia, one which stipulates that deputies shall be elected through a system of a direct, universal, equal, and secret ballot. This is the route by which a delegate from the Georgian Komsomol should attain to the Supreme Soviet or to a local soviet. Whether he attains it or not is another matter. Everything should depend on the constituents' acceptance of the program the deputy candidate offers in his own and his union's name; the main thing is the kind of authority he gains personally and the Komsomol gains in general through its activities.

The main question, finally, the one which has always concerned every Georgian through the centuries and still does, the goal toward which all the efforts I have listed should be directed, is the restoration of Georgia's independence. If the Georgian Komsomol is truly guided by Georgians' national and political interests, it should firmly and unequivocally support the idea of the staged restoration of Georgian state independence by affirming and establishing the political, economic, and cultural sovereignty of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

All of the aforementioned can be summarized as follows:

1. The Georgian Komsomol shall constitute a federative, organizationally and juridically independent social-political organization of the republic's young people, which, on the basis of Georgia's national and state interests, shall promote Georgian young people's national and social-political interests.
2. The Georgian Komsomol shall accept all young people living permanently in the republic (those holding Georgian citizenship) on a voluntary basis, regardless of their social or national affiliation, also Georgian and Abkhazian young people living outside of Georgia if they so desire.
3. The activities of the Georgian Komsomol, both within the Komsomol organization and in the life of the state, shall be based on principles of pluralism of ideas, democracy,

- and glasnost.
4. In its activities the Georgian Komsomol shall be guided by the principles of universal human values, humanism, and the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights."
5. Pursuant to Georgia's national and state interests, the Georgian Komsomol shall cooperate with the Georgian Orthodox Church and other religious institutions on the basis of mutual respect.
6. Pursuant to the interests of Georgia's welfare, the Georgian Komsomol shall maintain relations with other youth organizations (including the All-Union Komsomol) on the basis of equal rights and mutual respect.
7. The Georgian Komsomol shall cooperate closely with the Georgian Communist Party and at the same time direct its activities toward promoting the preparation and establishment of the Georgian Communist Party's organizational and juridical independence.
8. By taking part in the administration of the Georgian state, the Georgian Komsomol shall ensure Georgian young people's participation in the creation of a democratic, law-governed state in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, reflecting and protecting the political, national, economic, and social-cultural interests of every citizen of Georgia.
9. The Georgian Komsomol shall participate in the restoration of Georgian state independence through the attainment and establishment of the political, economic, and cultural sovereignty of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

At this point I should like to comment on another, no less important concern:

The Georgian Komsomol must resolutely cleanse itself of young bureaucrat-careerist functionaries who have already entrenched themselves as professional "Kvarkvares." Otherwise, all our good intentions will go down the tubes and the Georgian Komsomol will remain the same kind of colorless, inactive, and conservative organization it has become these past 68 years.

Georgian Official on Rules for Emigration, Immigration

*18300835a Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
15 Sep 89 p 3*

[Interview with Teymuraz Sanadze, head of the Visa and Registration Section of the Georgian MVD Maintenance of Social Order Administration by GRUZINFORM correspondents: "Abroad Without Invitations?"]

[Text] The warming of the political climate in the international arena has brought with it a noticeable intensification of business, tourist, and personal trips of Soviet citizens. This also totally applies to residents of our republic. Activization of such contacts, in turn, required improvement of the appropriate laws on emigration from and immigration to the USSR.

A draft of an appropriate law has been developed which is the result of the agreement achieved by the leaders of 39 nations at the Vienna Meeting. GRUZINFORM correspondents asked Teymuraz Sanadze, head of the Visa and Registration Section of the Maintenance of

Social Order Administration of the Georgian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], to discuss the proposed emigration and immigration system and what changes have already been introduced into it.

But first let us briefly introduce the person we are talking to. Operation of the section which has been entrusted to him is extremely important both for residents of the republic and for its international prestige. Here today new structural experts are needed, not simply those who know some paragraph of instructions, but those who are also intelligent, never affected by existing stereotypes, and who are capable of thinking creatively. We think Teymuraz Sanadze belongs to that group. He is 36 years old, a graduate of the construction department of GPI [Georgian Polytechnic Institute] imeni V.I. Lenin, worked in his profession, was the secretary of the construction trust party committee, and first deputy chairman of the capitol's Pervomayskiy Rayispolkom. Later he was sent to the USSR MVD Academy. He was assigned to his present position when he completed his studies last year. In May, he completed his first advanced academic courses in the VIR [Visa and registration] program.

INFORMATION: During the first six months of 1989, approximately 20,000 people, more than during the entire previous year, traveled from Georgia to live temporarily in various foreign countries. No one was refused exit.

[GRUZINFORM] Teymuraz Shotayevich, since exit for temporary residence is widely prevalent, let us begin with it. Does the draft law envision anything new for processing documents?

[Sanadze] For some time, the statement by a person going abroad on a personal visit has been submitted voluntarily and the form he fills out has been simplified. Only six items remain in it altogether and the "nationality" and "family status" columns have been eliminated. Furthermore, travelers to CMEA [Council for Mutual Economic Aid] countries and to Cuba already do not have to obtain a foreign [travel] passport—a supplement to an ordinary Soviet [passport] is sufficient. As for refusals, they are extended to a single category of citizen—holders of state secrets.

Now about the main anticipated changes. It is now permitted to be abroad by invitation for no more than two months and it can be extended for up to a year as a rule, and only the Soviet Embassy is empowered by law to do that. We soon plan to increase the year time period and those leaving for temporary residence can even work abroad. It is possible that we will even discontinue the practice of invitations, that is for it will not be required to leave for temporary residence [abroad].

INFORMATION: During the first six months of 1989, approximately 1,300 people, four times as many as during the entire previous year, left for permanent residence abroad.

[GRUZINFORM] A man undoubtedly has the right to select his place of residence. In this regard, what is the structure for emigration from our republic for permanent residence abroad and what innovations affect this procedure and document processing?

[Sanadze] Over 1,200 people chose permanent residences in capitalist countries—in Greece, Israel, the U.S., etc. It is important to point out that, unlike previous years, the draft of the new law envisions the following circumstances: The guarantor who invites them for permanent residence does not have to be a relative—it can be any citizen of the country being emigrated to. And one more thing: An emigre's passport is completely processed only after they obtain a visa at the appropriate embassy. Until that time, the individual retains his residence, job, etc. This is being done to avoid a previously encountered situation: The individual is fired and he has given up his apartment but he does not immediately obtain a visa and... it is as if he finds himself hanging "between the sky and the earth."

The proposed changes stipulate the right of an emigre to resolve conflicts with close relatives who do not give their permission to emigrate through the judicial process. And if the court establishes that the individual is released from legal obligations to close relatives, the suit will be subject to approval. Previously, the emigre for permanent residence abroad did not have this opportunity.

INFORMATION: During the first six months of 1989, approximately 17,000 people, four times as many as during the entire previous year, from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Israel, Turkey, the U.S., and other countries entered Georgia for temporary residence.

[GRUZINFORM] We must assume that here too the simplification of immigration procedures has had an impact?

[Sanadze] Of course. The immigration system has been significantly eased for residents of CMEA countries. Previously, the invited person had to complete a form and later evidence of the invitation which was sent to the guest had to be issued by OVIR [Visa and registration department]. Now it is sufficient for the "owner" to answer the three questions contained on the invitation form which is one fourth the size of a sheet of office correspondence. One copy of it is sent to OVIR through the regional militia department and the other is sent to the guest. We will soon also eliminate this function—is this not really a function of the ROVD [Rayon Internal Affairs Department]?

The existing system will be preserved with regard to the remaining socialist countries with the exception of a waiver of the visa form. The inviter sends the guest a notice on the basis of which the guest can obtain a visa at the Soviet Embassy. And for a guest emigrating from a capitalist country, a visa form must be presented to the foreigner and a special form filled out—it is true that this form has also been simplified. In the future, the system

of actions will be identical: A notice is sent to the invited person and he obtains a visa at the embassy.

Citizens also need to know about another innovation. When there is a seriously ill person in the family, a Soviet citizen can send a telegram to relatives abroad directly from the main post office—bypassing OVIR. The Soviet Embassy will issue the person being summoned an entry visa without hindrance based on notification certified by a doctor.

[GRUZINFORM] Let us return to emigration. Frequently individuals wishing to emigrate complain about violation of the established month time period for review of the given statement...

[Sanadze] I must acknowledge that they are correct. It sometimes happens that the actual review period exceeds the norm by a factor of two. Without removing a certain degree of guilt for this from myself, I will also discuss the problems which we have.

I will name two of the main problems. As a result of the reorganization and reduction of personnel in 1985, our employees' workload has sharply increased. We are still experiencing a personnel shortage now although the number of documented cases has increased by a factor 10-15 since 1985. Naturally, all of this affects the quality of work, the level of service to citizens, and case review time periods. Moreover, VIR departments function directly in the MVD in certain republics where they have 30-40 employees (three times the number we have), and they have special departments within them which service the capitols...

Second, office space. We are literally jammed into small rooms and two of our employees generally do not have any place to sit down—they have to stand in the reception area. And really our department is to a certain degree the calling card of the republic and of the nation. And, in my opinion, it is located in the internal affairs agency building for no good reason.

[GRUZINFORM] Then it is certainly tactless to ask if you have computers. Incidentally, how are revenues, taking into account that there is a state tax for emigre document processing?

[Sanadze] Quite a bit: 30 rubles from an emigre to a socialist country and 200 rubles to a capitalist country. Thus it is really nothing but a minimal fraction of a percent from these revenues which remain wholly designated for us so that we can eliminate the most pressing problems through our own efforts. For example, an agreement has been reached with the Tbilgorispolkom [Tbilisi Gorispolkom] on processing our materials in its computer center. It is not difficult to figure out how positively this reflects on the quality of service to residents of the republic and on their guests. We require 75,000 rubles to begin this. Alas, right now we cannot afford [this amount].

Provisional Statute on USSR General Secondary School

18001614 Moscow UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 19 Jul 89 pp 1, 2

["Provisional Statute on the USSR Secondary General Education School (Model)"]

[Text]

I. General Provisions

1. The Soviet general education school is a democratic, constantly developing, state and public institution, which provides for fulfillment of the individual's, the society's, and the state's requirements for a general education. The general education school is the continuing education system's basic component, and affords equal opportunities to all USSR citizens to continue their education and choose a career, according to the aptitude, interests, and abilities of each, taking societal needs into account.

2. The general education school's goal is to indoctrinate a well-rounded, ideologically resolute individual, capable of productively participating in the society's revolutionary transformation and socialism's defense.

3. The chief missions of the general education school, uniform at its base and diverse in its education and indoctrination's content, forms, methods, and organization, are the creating of maximally favorable conditions for the individual's intellectual, moral, emotional, and physical development, the utmost bringing out of his or her abilities, the fostering of a communist worldview, humanist values, and creative thinking, and the pupils' arming with a system of knowledge about nature, society, and man and his labor. The school is called upon to further the fulfillment of the population's national and cultural demands, the indoctrination of internationalists, and the creation among young people of a fully aware citizen's attitude, a readiness for an independent life, work and social productivity, defense of the homeland, and participation in democratic self-government, and a sense of responsibility for the fate of the country and all mankind.

4. The state guarantees the sociopolitical, legal, and economic support base of the general education and the school's activity and development, determines the education's socially necessary level and mandatory requirements, which increase in conjunction with the country's scientific-technical and social progress, and allocates materiel, financial, and other resources to the school for the implementation of these.

The school is answerable to society and the state for implementing the individual's rights to the education, for fitting the chosen organization forms of the education (instruction and indoctrination) process to the children's age-group psychophysiological attributes and requirements for health protection, and for the pupils'

high-quality mastery of educational material meeting the level of the mandatory requirements for the education.

The school, jointly with society, creates the conditions for developing and meeting pupil demands for obtaining an education which exceeds the level of the mandatory requirements.

Favorable conditions are created in the general education school for pupil self-education.

5. The school has independence in organizing its education process, as well as legal and financial independence. It carries out its activity in accordance with the USSR Constitution, the union and autonomous republic constitutions, and the law concerning public education on the principles of self-government, glasnost, and democracy, taking local socioeconomic conditions, national traditions, and regional characteristics into account.

The school is accorded the right to use the various forms of brigade, lease, and family contracts, as well as contractual and other progressive forms of organizing and stimulating teaching and productive work.

6. On the basis of this statute, each school may prepare its own regulations, in which the standards and rules for its collective's activity are prescribed, taking the school collective's characteristics and development prospects and its members' rights and obligations into account. The rights of partakers in the education process may not be limited by the regulations.

II. The School's Structure and Activity Basis

7. The general education secondary school consists of three levels: The first level is primary school (3 or 4 years); the second level is basic school (5 years); the third level is senior school (the period of instruction is 2 or 3 years—prescribed by the union republic's Ministry/State Committee of Public Education). The school levels correspond to a child's three basic developmental stages: early childhood, puberty, and adolescence.

Preschool indoctrination and instruction, which have indisputable value in their own right, act, not only as a preparatory stage in primary education, but also as a most important crucial period in an individual's character formation.

8. The first-level school is called upon to provide for the initial shaping of the child's character, the discovery and integrated development of his or her abilities, and the formation of the pupil's ability and desire to learn. In primary school, pupils acquire the requisite skills for academic work, learn reading, writing, and arithmetic, and master elements of theoretical reasoning, speech and conduct culture, and the fundamentals of personal hygiene and a healthy way of life. The academic subjects at this school level have the nature of integrated courses that lay down general concepts of nature, society, and man and his work.

9. The second-level school lays the foundation of the general education preparation necessary to its graduate for continuing his or her education and for his or her full-fledged fitting into the socialist society's life. It provides for the pupil's development of his or her character, aptitudes, and capacity for social self-determination and for his or her thorough familiarity with the sciences' fundamentals and formation of a scientific worldview.

The introduction of optional subjects (in addition to the mandatory subjects prescribed by the USSR State Committee for Public Education), elective courses, and a system of extracurricular activities at this school level is aimed at fuller development of pupils' aptitudes and abilities. With the consent of the parents/persons acting in their stead, instruction in basic school may be conducted by multilevel subject curricula, the core of which is prepared by the USSR State Committee for Public Education and the union republic Ministries/State Committees of Public Education.

10. Basic school is compulsory. Basic school graduates continue their education in the third-level secondary general education school, and have the right to continue their education in the secondary vocational and specialized education institutions of various types, as well as the right to start a work occupation with the opportunity to continue their education in evening and correspondence secondary general education schools.

11. The third-level school provides for completion of the pupils' general education preparation on the basis of its instruction's extensive and in-depth differentiation, and creates conditions for the fullest attention to the pupils' interests and the pupils' aware and active fitting into the socialist society's life. For this purpose, the third-level school's curriculum includes subjects at the option of the pupil himself or herself, along with the mandatory subjects.

The school council may make the decision concerning introduction of one or several types of instruction (general, the humanities, physical and mathematical, chemical and biological, technical, agricultural, economic, etc.) at the school. Work training is arranged with respect to the type of instruction elected by the pupils.

When the proper conditions exist, work training may, by school council decision, have the form of vocational training not mandatory for all pupils.

12. Instruction at the general education school's second and third levels is concluded with examinations. The rules for pupils' school-level promotion and their graduation are prescribed by the USSR State Committee for Public Education.

The need, forms, and schedules for conducting promotion examinations at the second and third levels are determined by the school council according to the methods (teachers' council's recommendation).

At their request, pupils may be exempted from promotion examinations in subjects in which good and excellent annual grades have been assigned to them.

Pupils may be exempted from promotion and graduation examinations by reason of illness, based on a medical commission's conclusion. The list of illnesses giving the right to exemption from examinations is established by the USSR State Committee for Public Education jointly with the USSR Ministry of Health.

A certificate of basic school completion is presented to those who have finished the instruction in the second-level school, and to those who have achieved particular success—a certificate with distinction.

Graduates of the third-level school receive a secondary education diploma. Those who have achieved particular success are awarded a gold or silver medal. Pupils who have distinguished themselves in the study of individual subjects are awarded republic Ministry/State Committee of Public Education certificates.

The school provides recommendations to second- and third-level school graduates upon their request.

The form and rules for presenting basic school completion certificates and secondary education diplomas, and the Regulations Concerning Gold and Silver Medals, are established by the USSR State Committee for Public Education.

13. The general secondary education's open-endedness and variability, and its focus upon national traditions and regional characteristics, are provided for by formation of the following structure for the education's content:

- an All-Union base component prescribed by the USSR State Committee for Public Education;

- a content component prescribed by the union republic Ministry/State Committee of Public Education, as well as by other ministries having subordinate schools;

- content components prescribed at the level of local agencies of public education administration, and at school and teacher level.

14. Various types of general education schools may be established for purposes of ensuring the general secondary education's accessibility and creating maximally favorable conditions for developing pupils' interests and abilities. The variety in types of schools, in their internal organizational structure, and in the content, methods, and forms of their education process is determined by the difference in pupils' educational needs, their preparation levels and states of health, and by the specifics of a region's socioeconomic development and its national and cultural-historical traditions, as well as by the particulars of the various school collectives' curricular and teacher orientations.

Depending on local circumstances, schools of different levels, as well as evening and correspondence schools, may be established and located separately or in the same complex. When there is an insufficient body of pupils for establishing evening and correspondence schools, the opening of classes and correspondence groups for working youths within a secondary general education school is permissible. Pupils of evening (shift) schools, classes, and groups receive a vocationally differentiated general secondary education which interests them, and they may also supplement one vocational general education preparation with another.

When necessary, and to the extent of their preconditions' creation, common living quarters (dormitories) with the proper staffing and prolonged- and full-day groups, constituted on a voluntary basis, are established for pupils assigned to the schools.

The choice of school type is made by the school collective conference upon agreement with the rayon/city council for public education.

The necessity to open evening and correspondence general education schools is determined by the local councils for public education and Soviets of People's Deputies.

15. The school council establishes remedial classes and various forms of teacher assistance and the rayon/city council for public education establishes schools for children with developmental deficiencies to provide assistance to pupils who are not coping with the academic curriculum within the mandatory requirements level's limits.

The children's health restoration is carried out in therapeutic and sanatorium and forest schools. The children's preparation for school is conducted in children's preschool institutions or in preparatory classes.

16. The number of first-grade classes, as well as higher grade classes, is determined by the school council upon agreement with the rayon/city council for public education and Soviet of People's Deputies.

In the absence of a sufficient number of pupils in a given area, the number and pupil capacities of rural school classes are determined by the rayon/city council for public education jointly with the village/settlement Soviet of People's Deputies, depending on local conditions.

17. Children aged 6 and 7 years, who have attained functional scholastic maturity, as determined at ages 5 and 6 years by a medical and pedagogical commission and the school psychological service, are enrolled in the first grade. The children's enrollment is carried out before the beginning of the school year as a rule, and is made official by their ordering to school.

Any child may enroll in any school, and may transfer to another school, if there are vacant seats in it, at any time

in the school year in any year of instruction, so children living near a school enjoy a benefit.

Foreign citizens and stateless persons residing in USSR territory are enrolled in general education schools on common terms with Soviet citizens.

Foreign citizens enrolled in general education schools on the basis of intergovernmental agreements and cultural and scientific cooperation plans between the USSR and foreign countries enjoy rights and have obligations in accordance with Soviet Union law and this statute if not otherwise specified by agreement.

18. Pupils' medical care is provided by staff medical personnel or medical personnel exclusively assigned to the school, who (along with the school administration) bear responsibility for the children's health and physical development, the taking of therapeutic and preventive measures, the observance of public health and hygiene standards, the regimen and quality of pupils' nutrition, and the regulation of their physical and mental loads.

The school psychologist and psychological service provide the psychological support for the education process at the school.

19. Pupils, in person or through their parents/persons acting in their stead, have the right to choose types of instruction existing at a given school, and the instruction's forms, to set their paces and schedules for mastering the mandatory education and that exceeding its level, and to select an individualized instruction curriculum.

Individualized subject and school curricula may be introduced for both the backward and the most successful pupils, which latter, moreover, may use the system of passing courses by examination without studying them in all or individual subjects if they wish to do so.

III. Organization of the Education and Indoctrination Process

20. Organization of the education and indoctrination process is built upon the teacher's/indoctrinator's sound selection of instructional and subject curricula, and means, forms, and methods of instruction and indoctrination which provide for the pupils' receipt of an education meeting the state mandatory requirements level.

All indoctrination work at the school is conducted on mutual respect and cooperation principles, taking the pupils' interests, aptitudes, and abilities into account. The tasks of indoctrinating young children and adolescents are accomplished in joint activity of the teacher and pupil collective, Komsomol and Pioneer organizations, parents/persons acting in their stead, and public organizations. The most important medium for communist indoctrination is the school collective—an association of children and adults united by a common goal, a sameness of actions, caring relationships, and a strong

sense of responsibility. The indoctrination process combines an individualized approach with collective creative activity having personal and social significance.

Pupil cooperatives and various pupil clubs, teams, studios, interest groups, and other amateur associations may be formed at a school. The school gives these as much assistance as possible without infringing their independence.

Work indoctrination is arranged with regard to local conditions and requirements. Pupils' work activity includes active work (occupations) in interest groups, athletic teams, specialized schools (music, art, athletic, etc.) and other forms of work, along with socially useful work in the social assistance field and nature protection, etc. Pupils have the right to choose any of these forms of activity (in the absence of medical contraindications).

21. The school year's starting date is set by republic agencies of state government. The school year's length must not be less than 34 weeks, not counting practical application work, but in first-grade classes—30 weeks.

The length of school vacations is established as follows: not less than 30 calendar days during the school year, and not less than 8 weeks in summer. The school council, upon agreement with the rayon/city council for public education, chooses one of the following two vacation schedules, and sets the vacations' starting dates:

—fall vacation 8 days, winter vacation 10 days, spring vacation 12 days;

—1 week of vacation after every 6 school weeks.

Additional week-long vacations are established for first-grade pupils.

Diversion of pupils from their classes for agricultural and other work or any sort of undertakings not associated with the education process at the expense of school time is prohibited. Directors of institutions and agencies of public education administration guilty of diverting pupils bear disciplinary liability.

22. The daily number, length, and sequence of school classes are specified in a school schedule set by the school principal [direktor]. The school council establishes the school week's length and the duration of the courses in each subject, within the confines of the school time limit called for by the curriculum. The length of the break between classes is set with arrangement for the pupils' active recreation and hot food taken into account.

The number of pupils in a first-level school's classes should not exceed 25 persons, and the number in a second- or third-level school's classes should not exceed 30 persons.

23. Homework is not mandatory. It may be given to pupils, taking each child's psychophysiological and teaching needs, as well as his or her individual characteristics, into account.

Homework is not assigned in the first grade.

24. In the first and second grades of primary school, only a qualitative evaluation of successfulness in subject curriculum mastery is used. In higher grades, the qualitative evaluation is supplemented with evaluations in numerical grade units: 5 (excellent), 4 (good), 3 (satisfactory), and 2 (unsatisfactory). Final grades are assigned at the end of the year.

According to the methods (teachers) council's recommendation and the school council's decision, pupils in a first-level school, who have failed to cope with the course curriculum, may be held back for a repeated course of instruction, with the use of an individualized curriculum when necessary.

In regard to pupils twice held back for a repeated course of instruction, the school council, with a psychological-medical-teaching commission's consideration, makes a recommendation concerning their assignment to makeup classes or schools, or to supplementary education and indoctrination institutions.

25. At the school's second and third levels, interim final grades in numerical grade units are assigned for quarters or semesters at school council discretion.

In the event of a pupil's (or his or her parents'/persons acting in their stead's) disagreement with an annual grade, the pupil is offered an opportunity to pass the examination of a commission appointed by the school council, or the council for public education, in the corresponding subject.

26. At school council discretion, second- and third-level pupils, who have failed to master one to three of the subjects prescribed as state requirements (mandatory subjects and subjects of mandatory election) may be promoted to the next grade, or graduated from school with the notation "audited" on the certificate or diploma.

27. Pupils, who have completed second-level school and have not mastered a subject curriculum within the mandatory requirements level's limits, are provided additional opportunities, including one by individualized curriculum, to complete their education.

Pupils, who have completed third-level school and have not passed examinations in individual subjects, are accorded the right to retake the examinations during the 3 months immediately following their being given personal notification.

28. The suasive measures prescribed by a school's regulations, including expulsion from school, may be applied in cases of violation of the standards and rules for student body behavior and damage to school property or equipment.

Expulsion from school is considered an extreme punishment measure. The decision concerning a pupil's expulsion from school is made by the school council and confirmed by the rayon/city council for public education.

29. When conditions for their obtaining a certain job exist during the teaching period at school, graduates who have passed its qualifying examinations or skill tests are given the certificate/certification of qualification conferment which is the basis for hiring in that job.

IV. The School's Administration

30. The school's state and public administration is carried out on the basis of the principles of glasnost, democracy, and socialist self-government. The school collective, which incorporates the pupils and the school's workers, performs its tasks in close cooperation with the parents/persons acting in their stead and the public at large.

31. The school collective conference is the school's highest self-government organ.

Delegates with the right of a deciding vote are elected to the conference by assemblies of the second- and third-level school student bodies, their teachers and the other school workers, and their parents and representatives of the public—in equal numbers from each of these three enumerated categories.

The conference:

- elects the school council, its chairman, and the school's principal (who is confirmed by the appropriate council for public education) by direct secret ballot, and sets their terms of office;
- adopts the school's regulations and makes the necessary changes in them;
- establishes the basic directions for the school's improvement and development and increase in the quality and effectiveness of its education and indoctrination process, prescribes the teaching language/languages, and draws in additional financial resources for enhancing and developing the school's materiel base;
- creates temporary or standing commissions, staffs, and councils for the various areas of the school's work as necessary, and establishes their authority.

The conference is formed no less frequently than once a year.

32. The school council acts in the capacity of the highest self-government organ in the period between the conferences.

The school council:

- organizes execution of the school collective conference's decisions;

- exercises control over implementation of the collective members' suggestions and critical comments;
- represents the school's interests at state and public agencies, jointly with the principal, and establishes the school's development plan;
- represents the pupils' interests at state and public agencies, along with the pupils' parents/persons acting in their stead, providing for the juveniles' public defense during the judgment of matters connected with a determination of their future;
- establishes the education's content components that are within the purview of the local agencies for public education administration and the school, and chooses the types of instruction differentiation and work training, in accordance with the school methods (teachers) council's recommendation;
- establishes the school's work regimen, the duration of the school week and the school lessons (without change in the teacher's overall amount of salaried work), the enrollment age for the first grade (6 or 7 years), the need for a pupil's uniform, and its kind, etc.;
- exercises control over the selection and placement of teaching and other school personnel, and initiates the canceling of employment contracts with persons who are unfit for the positions held;
- effects the certification of the school's teaching workers, makes recommendations to the qualification commission under the agencies of public education administration concerning the assignment of qualification categories to teachers, recommends teaching workers for oblast and republic skill-increasing courses, apprenticeship training (including that abroad), and graduate study, and recommends teaching and other school workers for various kinds of incentives, including a monetary incentive from school funds;
- supports public initiatives to improve and develop the young people's instruction and indoctrination, teachers' creative innovations and trial and experimental work, and determines ways of school cooperation with scientific research, production and cooperative organizations, volunteer societies, creative union branches, and other state and public institutes for the purpose of creating the necessary conditions for the pupils' well-rounded development and the teachers' creative activity;
- assures the wise expenditure of budgetary allocations to the school, forms its own school fund, using various financing sources, and provides for the centralization and designation of school funds to solve prospective problems in the school's development;

- hears reports on individual teachers' work and the school principal's and his or her deputies' reports, and makes recommendations for the conference's consideration concerning the continuation or discontinuation of their tenures, as well as recommendations for improving their work;
- takes the necessary steps, within the framework of existing law, to safeguard the school's teaching workers and administration from unwarranted interference in their professional and official activity, immediately stops any attempts at executive and administrative dictation in relation to the school collective, as well as any attempts at limiting the latter's independence, and makes official reports on these matters to the appropriate party, soviet, and other organs.

The school council works in close contact with the administration and party, labor union, Komsomol, and Pioneer organizations. All of its decisions are made known to the school collective, the parents/persons acting in their stead, and the public in timely fashion.

33. Representatives of the teaching workers, the second- and third-level pupils, the parents/persons acting in their stead and the public are included in the school council's composition. These categories' quotas for representation on the council and the council's overall numerical strength are set by the school collective conference. As a rule, no less than one-third of the council's membership is replaced during the regularly recurring elections.

To resolve routine problems, the school council may elect, from within its membership, a bureau and a conflict and revisory commission, the functions and tenures of which are specified by the school's regulations.

The school council meets no less frequently than four times a year. The school council's members perform their duties on a public basis. The school collective conference may remove a member of the council from its membership before the end of his or her term.

A school council decision is legally valid if no less than two-thirds of the council's membership was present at its meeting, and if no less than two-thirds of those present, among which all three categories of council members were uniformly represented, voted for it.

School council decisions, made within the limits of its authority and in conformity with the law, are binding upon the administration and all school collective members.

A school council member may demand the discussion of any issue if a third of the council's members supports his or her proposition.

34. The principal effects the administration of the school's education and indoctrination process and its routine activity.

The school principal [direktor]:

- plans and organizes the education and indoctrination process, exercises control over its progress and results, answers for the quality and effectiveness of the school's work and the observance of juvenile and labor protection requirements, and creates the necessary conditions for organizing extracurricular and off-campus work;
- makes the selection of his or her deputies and prescribes their functional duties, effects the placement of the school's teaching personnel and the assignment of its pupils' permanent homeroom teachers [klassnyye rukovoditeli], taking the opinions of pupils and parents/persons acting in their stead into account, and hires and fires teaching, administrative, teaching assistant, and service personnel;
- calls ad hoc meetings of all school workers, or their separate categories, as necessary to resolve current issues in the school's education and indoctrination activity;
- creates conditions for creative growth of the school's teaching workers and their use of advanced education and indoctrination forms and methods and initiation of teaching experiments;
- sees to the wise use of assigned state fund allocations as well as the school fund's resources;
- is answerable to the school conference and council and the local council for public education for his or her work, and periodically makes a report to them.

The school principal is obliged to set school council decisions aside indefinitely in cases in which they are contrary to USSR or union republic law, this statute, or the school's regulations. Disputed issues, which arise between the school council and the administration, are resolved at the school collective conference or in the rayon/city council for public education.

35. The methods (teachers) council—a collegial organ incorporating teaching workers—is formed for purposes of developing and improving the education and indoctrination process and increasing the teachers' and indoctrinators' professional skill and creative growth.

The methods (teachers) council discusses and selects the several versions of the education's content (school curricula, subject curricula, textbooks, etc.), the forms and methods of the education and indoctrination process, and the means of implementing these, organizes work to increase the teaching workers' skills, develop their creative initiative, and disseminate advanced experience, and makes decisions in all of the other teachers' professional activity matters.

Subject and other sections, associations, etc., may be formed under the methods council.

The methods council's chairman is elected by the teaching workers collective.

The school methods council's operating rules and procedures are prescribed in the school's regulations.

36. Komsomol, Pioneer, and other public organizations, functioning in accordance with their own regulations and directives, are formed at school. The Komsomol and Pioneer organizations are called upon to play a leading role within the student body, to concern themselves with improving the education and indoctrination process and developing democracy and glasnost at school, and to strive for the pupils' meeting the obligations, and defend the pupils' rights, prescribed in the school regulations.

Komsomol, Pioneer, and other public organizations at a school are authorized, through their representatives, to take part in the discussion and making of decisions at school council sessions and the principal's ad hoc meetings, to obtain needed information about the education and indoctrination process from the school administration, and to express opinions regarding teachers' interrelations with pupils during teacher certification.

The relations of the teaching collective, the school administration, and the Komsomol, Pioneer, and other public organizations are built on a foundation of mutual respect, trust, responsibility, and cooperation.

V. The School's Legal Status and Financial and Materiel Base

37. The school's financial resources are composed of budgetary fund allocations and the school's own funds made up from other sources.

38. State budget funds, allocated according to fixed standards that are set for a 5-year period and provide for attainment of the mandatory requirements level for the education, serve as the main source of financing for the education process at the school, the school working collective's social development, and the pay for that collective's work.

Calculation of the budgetary financing standards is performed by the union republic Ministry/State Committee of Public Education in accordance with methods recommendations worked out by the USSR State Committee for Public Education [Gosobrazovaniye].

Republic agencies of public education administration may set higher standards, based on regional requirements and conditions, and allocate additional funds to the school in keeping with those standards.

39. When introducing additional academic subjects and courses or conducting trial and experimental work at a school, as well as in other cases, local agencies of state government may effect the additional financing and the school's necessary materiel equipping.

40. Ad hoc experiments in education development and the work of experimental and other schools that have presented promising teaching programs may be financed by the USSR State Committee for Public Education's

centralized fund, as well as by funds of republic Ministries/State Committees of Public Education and local agencies of administration, or by other attracted funds.

41. The school's own funds are derived from the following basic sources:

- revenues from the school's economic activity, the school's furnishing of paid services and renting of school accommodations and equipment;
- voluntary contributions from state, public, cooperative, and other organizations, from pupil cooperatives, workshops, production brigades, etc., and from parents and other citizens;
- ad hoc investments by ministries, administrative departments, business-partner [bazovyye] and other enterprises and state institutions, and public and cooperative organizations;
- bank loans and other receipts.

42. The school's furnishing of paid services means:

m—the organization of various kinds of paid elective courses and courses for intensive study of individual subjects which exceed the mandatory requirements level for the education, special lectures and consultations entailing the invitation of highly qualified specialists from other organizations (higher educational institutions, cultural and artistic institutions, creative unions, etc.), and supplementary lessons in art, physical education, athletics, etc.;

- the organization of various courses for adult education;
- the sale of the services and articles obtained during the pupils' and teachers' work activity, as well as in their filling of orders from enterprises and organizations;
- the renting of schoolrooms, gymnasiums, equipment, etc.

Paid services are furnished to the population at the prices and rates set in effective regulations or, in the absence of such prices and rates, at agreed prices.

The local Soviets of People's Deputies executive committees may include the amounts of services furnished by the schools in their reports on the filling of state orders through the sale of paid services.

The aforesaid organs' assignment of planning quotas to the schools for the development of paid services is not permitted in any form whatsoever.

The furnishing of paid services must not be carried out instead of activity financed from the budget, or at the cost of lowering the free service level. The rayon/city council for public education exercises control over the free service level.

43. The school may utilize bank loans. The banks make a short-term loan to the school for performance of the school's routine activity. A long-term loan is offered for material base development and social development, with subsequent repayment of the loan at the expense of school resources from the production and social development fund.

44. The school's financial resources are entirely at its disposal, and are not subject to recapture. The right to apportion these resources belongs to the school council.

45. The school's financial resources are transferred to and kept in its accounts at a branch of any USSR bank.

46. The rules for keeping accounting and statistical records at the school are prescribed by existing law. At the school council's discretion, the record keeping may be done either independently or jointly with other schools, organizations, institutions, or enterprises, as well as with the assistance of rayon or city accounting offices. Accounting operations may be performed according to payment vouchers and according to check books.

47. A consolidated fund for payment for labor and a fund for materiel, production, and social development are formed on the basis of the school's financial resources. The formation of these funds is accomplished on the basis of standards in percentages of the school's total financial resources.

48. The 5-year plan for economic and social development with a breakdown by years, independently worked out and adopted by the school, is the main form of planning and organization for the school's economic activity. The following initial planning data are established by the union republic Council of Ministers: the control figures, the state orders for goods and/or services, and the long-term economic standards and limits.

The control figures are not peremptory in nature, and include the school's numerical pupil composition, indices for equipment outfitting levels, material base development, and the school collective's social development, as well as the volume of sales of paid services to the population.

State orders for goods and/or services are placed upon the activation of facilities at the expense of statewide and republic centralized capital investments.

The long-term economic standards are fixed, and are confirmed for the 5-year period by higher administrative agencies as follows:

- a budgetary financing standard;
- a standard for forming the consolidated fund for payment for labor;
- a standard for the relationship between increase in the consolidated fund for payment for labor and increase in the school's total financial resources;

—a standard for forming the production and social development fund;

—a standard for forming the fund for withheld currency amounts and currency receipts.

The higher administrative agencies do not assign standards to the school for remittances to the budget and withheld amounts.

The limits establish the maximum amount of centrally distributed material resources for supporting the school's routine activity.

49. Payment of the school workers' salaries and wages and their monetary incentives is effected within the limits of the consolidated fund for payment for labor.

The school independently adopts its staffing table, and sets its position pay rates in accordance with the effective pay scales without strictly adhering to the average pay rates.

Position salary and wage rates must be viewed as the guaranteed minimum earned pay for like skill groups of teaching and other workers. Differentiated extra pay and supplements may be applied to position salary and wage rates at the school for high professional skill, high attainments in work, performance of especially important jobs, and for the combining of occupations.

Extensive rights are accorded to the school in determining forms and systems of payment for labor, and in apportioning the consolidated fund for payment for labor according to each worker's labor contribution. Thus the amounts of workers' (including administrators) earned pay are not limited.

The school council prescribes the circumstances and rules for making monetary awards to teaching personnel and other school workers.

50. The general education school, being a legal entity, has an official seal bearing a facsimile of the union republic or Soviet Union state emblem, depending on the school's subordination, and the school's name, as well as a signboard of standard design.

51. The school's documents are prepared in accordance with the standard procedure established by the union republic Ministry/State Committee of Public Education.

The school's budget supporting documents are presented in accordance with USSR State Committee for Statistics agency demands. Demand for other budget supporting documents by any state or public agencies is forbidden.

52. The rules for opening, converting, and closing schools are prescribed in *Principles of USSR and Union Republic Law on Public Education*. Decisions to open, convert, and close schools are made by the local Soviet of People's Deputies.

53. The principal has the right, in the school's name:

—to acquire, rent, and order equipment and other material resources necessary to the school from any enterprises, organizations, cooperatives, and individuals, on credit or by cash payment, and, in the retail network and in commission-basis outlets, without regard to the minor wholesaling limit, and without restriction on the amount of any one expenditure for cash payment;

—to conclude contracts with organizations, institutions, and individuals, as well as with the school's pupils, for performance of the school's various kinds of construction and installation work, and for work on the school's routine repair and the appearance and furniture of its rooms, facilities, etc.;

—to conclude contracts for the school's furnishing of various services to its pupils and their parents, as well as to enterprises, organizations, and institutions;

—to conclude contracts concerning the formation of associations with other schools, education and indoctrination institutions, scientific and nonschool establishments, enterprises, and cooperatives, and concentrating all resources, or part of them, for creating interschool combines, courses, training and production or economic associations, carrying out specific undertakings, etc.

54. The local Soviets of People's Deputies furnish the necessary structures and rooms, utilities and roads, land tract, teaching equipment, and inventory items to the school, provide for the school buildings and structures' timely capital and routine repair, and assign the limits for the school's equipping.

Schoolrooms are equipped and utilized in conformity with equipment safety rules and public health and hygiene standards.

Enhancement and development of a school's material base is accomplished through the use of centralized funds, as well as by use of the school's financial resources.

55. In accordance with the law, school workers, pupils, and pupils' parents/persons acting in their stead have property liability for damaging school buildings and structures, teaching equipment, inventory items, and other school property.

The officials' responsibility for observing the requirements for safeguarding labor and the health of the school's pupils and workers is defined in accordance with the law.

VI. The School's International Relations

56. Schools/associations of schools have the right to participate in international activity with the assistance of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the union republic Ministries/State Committees of Public Education, other ministries and departments, the USSR Teachers Union, and other organizations. The school

makes the selection of the teachers and pupils, and is responsible for the preparation and formal documentation for sending them abroad (for the purpose of working, increasing their skill, studying, exchanging teaching experience, or participating in conferences, competitions, or other undertakings).

Utilizing available international communications, a school has the right to make agreements with foreign educational institutions on exchanging teachers and pupils, forming joint (associated) institutions, and conducting joint undertakings (conferences, pupil camps, etc.), as well as to join international organizations in accordance with existing law.

57. The school effects the acceptance of foreign teachers and pupils, with the assistance of both the USSR State

Committee for Public Education and other organizations, when it has the proper conditions.

58. Schools/associations of schools may obtain the right of foreign economic activity in the established manner, and make bilateral agreements and conclude other legal acts with foreign contractors in their own names, both in the USSR and abroad. A currency account may be opened, in the manner prescribed by law, for such schools'/associations of schools' settlements with foreign contractors.

Schools/associations of schools may create joint enterprises in USSR territory jointly with foreign firms in the manner prescribed by law.